

191084

JPRS-UIA-86-021

8 MAY 1986

USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

20000104 132

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

**Reproduced From
Best Available Copy**

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 3

23
54
A04

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semimonthly by the NTIS, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

Soviet books and journal articles displaying a copyright notice are reproduced and sold by NTIS with permission of the copyright agency of the Soviet Union. Permission for further reproduction must be obtained from copyright owner.

8 MAY 1986

USSR REPORT INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTENTS

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

Correspondents' Assignments Abroad: December 1985 - February 1986 (ZHURNALIST, No 12, Dec 85; No 2, Feb 86)	1
December 1985 Assignments	1
February 1986 Assignments	1

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

Discussion of Technology Transfer, East-West Economic Ties (A. Bykov; INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, No 1, Jan 86)	2
---	---

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

Table of Contents: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 1, 1986 (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, Jan 86)	10
U.S. 'Strategy' in Pacific Region Analyzed, Criticized (G. Kim; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, Jan 86)	12
Rajiv Gandhi, INC (I) Extolled, Need for INC (I) Unity Stressed (A. Sarvarov; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, Jan 86)	16
Islamic Fundamentalism, 'Muslim Brotherhood' in Egypt Viewed (A. Vasilyev; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, Jan 86)	19
Sudan's Past, Current Regimes, Policies Evaluated (G. Mirskiy; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 1, Jan 86)	26

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

- U.S. Support of Latvian Emigre Groups Denounced
(I. Berzinsh, Yu. Dmitriyev; SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA, 13 Feb 86) 36

EASTERN EUROPE

- SFRY Official on USSR Ties
(G. Ubiparip Interview; SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA,
6 Apr 86) 40

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

- Situation in Kuwait Viewed in Light of Iran-Iraq War
(Igor Belyayev; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, No 11, 12 Mar 86) ... 41
- Political Situation Inside Israel Observed
(Igor Belyayev; LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, 26 Mar 86) 44
- Soviet 'Documentary' Scores West's Aid to Afghan Mujahidin
(Ye. Prikhod'ko; TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA, 13 Feb 86) 46
- TASS Describes Broadcasting Service in Afghanistan
(Oleg Kuzmin; TASS International Service, 5 Apr 86) 49
- Soviet-Algerian Trade for 1985 Reviewed
(TASS, 21 Mar 86) 50

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

CORRESPONDENTS' ASSIGNMENTS ABROAD: DECEMBER 1985 - FEBRUARY 1986

December 1985 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 12, Dec 85 p 73

[Article: "Assignments"]

[Text] VYACHESLAV KONSTANTINOVICH TOMILIN was appointed TASS correspondent in China.

Born in 1955. Graduate of Moscow University's Institute of Asian and African Countries. Has worked for TASS since 1978. Was an editor in the Main Editorial Office for Socialist Countries, Main TASS Editorial Office for Foreign Information. Since 1982, has worked as a TASS editor in Mongolia.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1985.

February 1986 Assignments

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 2, Feb 86 p 62

[Article: "Assignments"]

[Text] VLADIMIR ALEKSANDROVICH SKOSYREV was appointed a member of the IZVESTIYA editorial board.

Born in 1934. Graduate of the Moscow Institute of International Relations. Has worked in the press since 1959. Was literary editor for the International department of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office. Since 1964 has worked in the IZVESTIYA editorial department. Was a special correspondent in the International Department, worked as a correspondent in India, Singapore, and Great Britain; subsequently was assistant editor for IZVESTIYA's international department. Since 1985, has been the IZVESTIYA editor for the Asian, African, and Latin American department.

COPYRIGHT: Izdatelstvo "Pravda", "Zhurnalist", 1986.

CSO: 1807/240

EAST-WEST RELATIONS

DISCUSSION OF TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER, EAST-WEST ECONOMIC TIES

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 1, Jan 86 pp 88-95

[Article by Professor A. Bykov, D. Sc. (Econ), head of the sector of East-West Economic, Scientific and Technical Relations at the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System, USSR Academy of Sciences]

[Text]

Over the past decades, the world scientific and technological revolution (STR) has been exerting an ever more noticeable impact on the development of international political and economic relations, on the contest and struggle between the two social systems. As was emphasised in the draft new edition of the CPSU Programme, the Party's economic strategy for the 12th five-year period and up to the year 2000 has been determined with a view to further deepening of the scientific and technological revolution and is aimed at a new technical reconstruction of the national economy, its transition to intensive development, and its rise to the highest level of organisation and effectiveness. All of that is to be done in the name of man and for the benefit of man.

Contrary to that, the reactionary circles of US imperialism and the bosses of the US military-industrial complex hope to make full use of the opportunities offered by the present stage of the STR for their own selfish, hegemonistic and expansionist purposes, seeking to regain the positions they once had in the world at any price, and to take social revenge on a global scale. In that US strategy, the national interests and security of the West European countries, which enjoyed unquestionable advantages in the years of detente as a result of the development of mutually advantageous cooperation with the USSR and other European socialist countries, serve as mere bargaining chips.

As the practical moves of the present US Administration show, its strategic design amounts to the following:

First, to win the competition against socialism on a global scale by imposing upon it a new arms race and putting it at a disadvantage both in the military-technical and in the broader, technological field, deliberately isolating it from the world technology market;

Second, to make its allies and rivals carry a burden of additional military spending and so to weaken their positions on the world market; with that aim in view, Washington is trying to isolate them from the socialist market and simultaneously to increase their technological dependence on the USA, with all the ensuing military-political, trade and economic costs;

Finally, to retain the Third World countries within its orbit through technological neocolonialism, making them totally dependent on US technology and the transnational monopolies.

To realise its goals, the USA has launched high-cost "strategic modernisation" programmes on a scale unprecedented in peacetime, which involve the development and buildup of a new generation of weapons (conventional and nuclear) based on the latest technology and supplemented with a programme of "star wars" (strategic defense initiative).

In order to cut off the socialist countries from the world technology market, a complex of tough measures limiting the transfer of new technology to these countries is now being put into effect on the USA's initiative and under its pressure, both on a national, bilateral and multilateral basis. A reviewed Export Act adopted in the USA in the summer of 1985 reaffirms the old and introduces new measures to limit the export of "strategic goods" and technologies to the socialist countries. These measures, the Act says, have "to further significantly the foreign policy of the United States", ensure "maximum possible" uniformity in the application of restrictions by all of the USA's allies, and rule out similar supplies by third countries. The Act bans the export to the socialist countries both of military and civilian "strategic goods" and "critical" (latest) technologies, with an overall emphasis on ensuring a "controlled technological lag" of the socialist countries.

The activities of the notorious COCOM, the Coordinating Committee for controlling exports to the socialist countries, which includes all the NATO members (except Iceland) and Japan, have been stepped up. Under open US pressure, many neutral and non-aligned countries have in some degree to observe the COCOM restrictions. Police action is taken everywhere in the West within the US Exodus programme to hold up those of the goods banned for export to the socialist countries which, in the opinion of the US Administration, could reach these countries. There is greater differentiation between them in terms of access to new technology, with an overall tightening of the regime of access to technology and credits for almost all the socialist countries (except the People's Republic of China). Nor has the USA spared its own allies or the neutral countries, limiting deliveries of latest technology to these countries on the same pretext of "strategic interests".

It goes without saying that such measures, which cut across the norms of international law and the traditions of world trade, meet with criticism and objections both in the USA itself and especially among its allies and the neutral countries. One will recall the storm of indignation that broke out in the world over Washington's attempt to ban the delivery of equipment for the Siberia-Western Europe gas pipeline, when the USA was obliged to back down. In spite of that, the USA recently put through the COCOM additional restrictions on the supply to the socialist countries of modern electronic and telecommunications technology and software, and took other steps to tighten such restrictions. The zeal of the Washington strategists is undoubtedly fuelled by the fact that all these restrictive measures, in effect, have a lighter impact on US firms than on the firms of other capitalist countries which maintain long-standing business ties with the socialist countries. According to Western sources, no more than 10 per cent of the total volume of Western technology bought by the latter in the 1970s came from the USA, while Japan accounted for roughly 20 per cent, and Western Europe for 70 per cent.

It is not surprising that the US Administration's negative stand on matters of East-West trade and scientific exchanges and its vigorous moves to torpedo these meet with a highly guarded response in Tokyo and especially in the West European capitals, while Western policy in that field causes sharp discord in the Atlantic alliance. The "arguments" of the Atlantic strategists are at odds with the real interests and development logic of international cooperation under the STR, with the markedly accelerating process of internationalisation and the growing interdependence of all the participants within the world economy, with the growing role and importance of global problems whose solution calls

for close interaction among them. Broad peaceful cooperation in gearing the achievements and potentialities of the STR to the interests of the whole of mankind, without any politically or economically motivated discrimination, is one of the crucial international problems of our day.

Washington's oft-repeated allegation that the Soviet Union abuses its access to Western technology is totally groundless: the USSR has never pivoted its defence capability on Western technology, and competent Western experts have no doubt about its immense scientific and technical potentialities. Referring to a report by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, *The Washington Post* writes, for instance, that "it is rare to find examples of technologies obtained from the West which the USSR could not have produced itself".¹

It is well known that the USSR and the socialist community as a whole now account for roughly one-third of the world's scientific, technical and production potential, and that they are able, as experience has convincingly shown, to solve the most complicated technical problems connected both with strengthening the defence capability of the CMEA and the Warsaw Treaty countries and with their socio-economic programmes.

The present vigorous steps being taken by these countries to accelerate scientific and technical progress and their whole socio-economic development are not a sign of weakness but, on the contrary, indicate their ability rapidly to rise across a wide front to the level of STR demands, the demands of its new stage, and to combine STR achievements with the advantages of socialism, of socialist economic methods.

As for East-West trade and scientific exchanges, far from being a "one-way street", as alleged in Washington, these are a mutually advantageous matter. The CMEA countries can and do make an equivalent contribution to international technology exchanges, East-West exchanges in particular. That is tangibly confirmed, for instance, by the fact that socialist countries now account for about 40 per cent of all new inventions in the world, and their successes in fundamental sciences, which constitute a theoretical reserve for the development of the STR, are common knowledge.

In noting the achievements of Soviet science, *U. S. News & World Report* had to admit that science in the socialist community countries "is making enormous strides and providing important contributions to the technology of the U. S. and other non-Communist nations".² Western experts recognise that the flows of technology in the form of licences and know-how (unpatented technical and production expertise) between the East and the West are comparable in terms of volume. Thus, according to *The Financial Times* of London, since 1965 the CMEA countries have exported about 1,500 licences to third countries, while importing about 2,400 Western licences.³ True, there still remains some asymmetry in East-West trade in machinery and equipment.

However, by raising the technical level and competitiveness of their export products, extending the product mix, using new and better forms and methods of marketing and subsequent technical services, and offering greater incentives to producers to extend the export of their products, the CMEA countries are creating the necessary material and organisational prerequisites for an improvement of the structure of their exports in accordance with STR demands, for increasing the share of technical goods, and so on.

At the same time, the CMEA countries were naturally bound to react—both individually and collectively—to the greater discrimination on the

¹ *The Washington Post*, May 13, 1983.

² *U.S. News & World Report*, Jan. 17, 1983, p. 56.

³ See *The Financial Times*, Dec. 22, 1983.

part of the West, to its policy of economic embargo and sanctions against the socialist countries. Within the framework of their integration and their concerted economic, scientific and technical policy, the CMEA countries elaborated effective joint counter-measures, reorienting their trade flows towards more reliable partners in the developing world and in the West itself, deepening their integration process and concentrating it on new pivotal lines of the STR.

A major stage in the drafting and implementation of these measures was marked by the Moscow Economic Summit Conference of the CMEA countries in June 1984, the documents unanimously approved at that Conference, and its decision to elaborate a Comprehensive Programme of Scientific and Technological Progress in the CMEA Countries for the next 15 to 20 years. In their concern for an allout improvement and development of international economic, scientific and technological co-operation on an equitable and mutually advantageous basis, including cooperation with the West, the CMEA countries have devoted special attention to cooperation in Europe, notably, to an extension of mutually beneficial business ties between European states in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and the Madrid accords.

The CMEA countries' interest in developing trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation with the West European countries is quite understandable in view of the historical and geographical proximity of these countries, their mutually complementary resources, their long-standing traditions of mutually advantageous cooperation, and its tangible positive results in the past decades, especially in the period of detente. These objective factors cannot be ignored either in the Eastern or the Western part of the European continent. Many important aspects of European cooperation have been given legal status by the Final Act.

For the USSR and the CMEA's European countries as a whole, the West European countries have been and remain the major Western trading partners. As for the West European countries, a considerable share of their total imports and exports is also oriented in that direction, especially in such basic products as energy resources in their imports, and metallurgical products and the output of some subindustries of engineering in their exports.

In the period of detente, such trade increased most markedly, and not only owing to changes in price proportions, but also in physical terms, becoming the most dynamic strand of world trade. Its slower growth over the past few years is a direct consequence of the artificial restrictions imposed by the USA on the West European countries, of EEC protectionism, rather than a result of structural barriers and financial difficulties. If these restrictions were overcome, with a simultaneous solution of credit problems and a perfection of the structure of trade, possibilities would be created for a further stable growth of East-West trade in Europe.

The recent visit to France by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev gave a new and powerful impulse to the development of European cooperation. He came out with large-scale proposals for improving the political climate in Europe, limiting the confrontation between the armed forces of the two military-political alliances stationed on the continent, and developing the peaceful dialogue between European states with different social systems, backed up with confidence-building measures.

As was noted at a meeting with French parliamentarians, the political climate in Europe depends to a considerable extent on the development

of East-West economic ties. An innovatory approach is necessary in this field as well. Efficient use of the international division of labour could make it much easier for each country to resolve the tasks of industrial, technical and scientific progress. The USSR is prepared to look for new forms of cooperation on the principles of mutual advantage, equality and responsibility.

Naturally, all that should rest on the solid foundation created over the decades of mutually advantageous cooperation in different forms. A point to note in this context, however, is that the West European countries' obedient following in the wake of the Washington-inspired discriminatory trade policy with regard to the socialist countries could lead to an exclusion from their mutual trade of the most promising high-technology goods, which determine the latest lines of the STR and meet the requirements of the structural changes that are now under way both in Eastern and Western Europe. An excessive tribute to "Atlantic solidarity" in matters of limiting the range of products being exported to the socialist community would, in effect, mean an artificial curtailment of the advantages gained by the West European countries from their mutually useful cooperation with the socialist states.

That would ultimately serve to weaken Western Europe's positions in the intensifying trade war with Japan and the USA, and would limit its possibilities for using such ties to increase employment and so to alleviate its ever graver unemployment problem,⁴ and also to maintain growth and technical development rates.

The West European countries are just as interested in stable access to East European fuel and energy resources: oil and oil products, gas, coal and electric power. Although the energy crisis in the capitalist world has for a time given way to an opposite tendency, it would be unreasonable to rule out its recurrence on an even greater scale than in the 1970s. As recent experience has shown, Western Europe is more vulnerable in that respect than the United States. Meanwhile, Washington has been trying to thrust upon it more costly power-supply patterns on the same pretext of "strategic interests".

Protection of the environment is one of the major global problems engendered by the STR or connected with it. That problem is ever more acute for all European countries, especially the countries of Western Europe with their highly concentrated population and industry. For geographical reasons, that problem cannot be resolved within a national or narrow regional framework; it calls for joint and closely coordinated action on an all-European scale.

The STR has also raised new questions in the sphere of European transport and communications, especially considering the further growth of all-European trade, the intensifying scientific and technological ties, and the development of human contacts and tourism. Their solution is inconceivable without an all-European approach and establishment of cooperation in the investment, scientific-and-technical, and production-and-services sphere.

The USSR and the other CMEA countries—individually and collectively—have been making vigorous efforts to accelerate scientific and technical progress as the major prerequisite for intensifying production and socio-economic development as a whole. Largely similar tasks (although on a totally different socio-economic basis) are also being tackled in the West European countries, which are trying to keep pace with their rivals, the USA and Japan. A certain coordination of these processes within the framework of all-European division and cooperation

⁴ The unemployment level in the West European countries has now exceeded 11 per cent (about 19 million) and is quite unlikely to go down.

of labour could yield undoubted advantages for the whole continent and, simultaneously, for scientific and technical progress on a global scale. After all, roughly one-half of the world's scientific, technical and production potential is concentrated on the European continent, the cradle of technical progress and the first industrial revolution.

Much is now being said and written in the West about Western Europe's technological lag, about its losing or beginning to lose the competition in that field on a global scale. Those who say that refer to the fragmentation of the West European scientific and technical potential, the lack of initiative among West European entrepreneurs and their insufficient receptivity of innovation, the isolation of West European universities from industry, etc. There has even been talk of Western Europe's decline, with a shifting of the centre of global scientific and technical progress to the Pacific region, where attempts are being made to form an integration entity under the auspices of the USA and Japan. Without sharing that pessimistic conclusion, one is nevertheless bound to note certain negative features in West European scientific and technological development, notably, along such lines as computers and microprocessors, robotics and biotechnology, which spearhead the new stage of the STR.

Problems in that field are also faced by the CMEA's East European countries, which have been working hard within national and integration bounds to resolve them as soon as possible. Certain changes have recently occurred in the West European countries as well. A paramount role from the standpoint of the whole continent's technological positions could be played by interaction and mutual dovetailing of the efforts being taken by East and West European countries, which would accelerate Europe's advance along the whole front of the new stage of the STR and assert its role as the acknowledged leader of world scientific and technical progress.

Alongside material and intellectual factors, this process could be promoted by definite organisational prerequisites created in the past, especially in the years of detente. Thus, traditional trade in the past decade went hand in hand with fairly vigorous exchanges in the field of science and technology (researchers, patents and licences, other scientific, production and technical data) and joint development of scientific and technological problems, both fundamental and applied. The two sides have also developed industrial cooperation on the basis of joint production programmes and concerted specialisation, an exchange of units and components, joint development and introduction of new technologies on the strength of scientific research already done by either side, joint or concerted marketing in other countries of new products or investment and technical services, diverse forms of product-pay-back deals and joint enterprise.

Contracts of that kind now run into thousands, and many of them are large-scale, creating prerequisites for long-term cooperation on the basis of the existing organisational and legal infrastructure. A number of projects in the mining and manufacturing industries, in the sphere of the infrastructure and the services have been built in the USSR and other CMEA countries on such a basis so as to meet the demand in West European and other countries as well.

Soviet-French cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space, the joint flight of a French and Soviet cosmonauts, and the use of French instruments in Soviet space research are well known. Such joint research meeting STR requirements could be carried both on a bilateral and multilateral basis, particularly under the recent proposal, International Cooperation in the Peaceful Exploration of Outer Space in Conditions of Its Non-Militarisation, put forward by the USSR at the UN.

A considerable store of positive experience has been accumulated in the sphere of scientific-technical and scientific-production cooperation. The joint Soviet-West German firm Technounion, set up in the FRG, not only helps to market Soviet licences and know-how in Western Europe and to apply Soviet production and technical experience and corresponding technologies, but also promotes cooperation in that promising field. With its participation, the West German firms Man and Kanis produce components for gas turbines and compressors under a Soviet licence, while other components are made in the USSR. Eventually, whole turbines could be built from Soviet designs for use at gas pipelines running across the territory of European and other countries. In cooperation with Soviet enterprises, the firm Stetter (FRG) has developed and is producing concreting machines, which are being widely used in the USSR and the FRG, and are also being marketed in other countries.

Such examples could be cited for virtually every West and East European country. But that is only the beginning. Given favourable conditions, such a pooling of scientific and production potentials, especially on a multilateral basis, could eventually make a much greater contribution to the development of mutually advantageous cooperation in Europe, especially along the most promising high-technology lines. Effective multilateral cooperation under the Tokamak project could yield important results: if it succeeded, mankind would acquire a virtually inexhaustible source of nuclear power. Another timely idea is to set up joint ventures (firms specialising in innovation) to develop and introduce new technology on the scale of the whole of Europe and beyond it on the basis of the partners' scientific backlog, primarily Soviet research, whose results are not as yet being used in full measure, but which spearheads scientific and technical progress in a number of fields.

Both in the sphere of scientific and technical progress and in trade and economic cooperation between the two parts of Europe, a major positive role could be played by more businesslike ties between the CMEA and the EEC. The members of these two largest integration groupings of Europe and the world are known to account for over one-half of total East-West trade. (According to the Commission of the European Communities, from 1975 to 1983 trade between the West European countries and the CMEA members virtually doubled, from \$41,000 million to almost \$74,000 million). The CMEA countries displayed initiative in that matter both in the 1970s and in the recent period.

Speaking in Paris, Mikhail Gorbachev once again reaffirmed the usefulness of establishing more businesslike relations between the CMEA and the EEC, calling attention to the CMEA's constructive initiative in that respect, and the importance of making it yield concrete results. It is not only a matter of trade-policy issues, but also of contacts on specific political problems in so far as the EEC countries operate as a "political entity".

As for a perfection of the forms of East-West cooperation in Europe, it could be a matter of giving it a more stable and long-term character, supported by the necessary organisational structure, of supplementing bilateral ties with multilateral, all-European ones, deepening cooperation, especially right through the whole "science-technology-production-marketing" cycle, studying the possibilities of various existing forms of joint enterprise, making more flexible use of product-pay-back forms, primarily in manufacturing, and so on. Other questions of perfecting the forms and mechanism of East-West cooperation, connected, in particular, with a perfection of economic methods in the CMEA countries, including the external economic sphere, are also on the agenda.

The CPSU Central Committee's Plenary Meeting in April 1985 noted the need to make a careful examination of the state of Soviet external

economic ties, to take a deeper look at these with a view to the long term. In spite of the present international tensions, favourable opportunities undoubtedly exist for the development of these ties. The approach to mutually advantageous economic ties should be broad, large-scale and oriented towards the future. That also applies to external economic ties as a whole and to East-West ties in particular, including their most substantial and promising constituent: ties with the West European countries. Naturally, the Soviet Union and all the CMEA countries do not contrast cooperation in Europe with the development of business relations along other lines, say, with Japan, the USA or other Western countries.

As we find, there are many objective prerequisites and real possibilities for extending mutually advantageous East-West trade, economic, scientific and technological ties in Europe and elsewhere. By helping to relax tensions on the European continent and in the world at large, to effect a turn from confrontation to detente, and also to accelerate and promote peaceful scientific and technical progress in the interests of the whole of mankind, the development of such ties would provide convincing proof of the mutual benefit of businesslike constructive cooperation between countries with different social systems.

Having emphasised the contemporary need to gear international scientific and technological cooperation solely to peaceful purposes and expand it to global dimensions, the Warsaw Treaty member states declared at a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Sofia on October 22 and 23, 1985, that this would be the most reliable guarantee that the latest achievements of the human genius would not breed strife between nations, but would be collectively used by them in the interests of all.

COPYRIGHT: Obshchestvo "Znaniye", 1986
English translation Progress Publishers 1986

/9274
CSO: 1812/101

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

TABLE OF CONTENTS: AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 1, 1986

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 p 1

[Text] APPROACHING THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

Alekseyev, Yu. The Arms Race and the New International Economic Order	2
Kim, G. The Pacific Ocean Region in Imperialism's Strategy	5
It Will Not Fade Across the Centuries	9
Sarvarov, A. India: In Search of Constructive Solutions	10
Lilienthal, Alfred. Zionism -- The Enemy of Peace in the Near East	13

ON THE PATH OF PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATIONS

Silanin, A. Kampuchea: The Land Reborn	15
--	----

IDEOLOGY AND POLICY

Gurevich, P. Mysticism -- The Tool of Spiritual Enslavement of the Masses	18
Vasilyev, A. Islamic Fundamentalism and Egypt	22

COUNTRIES, PEOPLE, TIMES

Mirskiy, G. Sudan: The End of the 'Black Era'	27
---	----

AGAINST APARTHEID AND RACISM

Kulik, Sergey. South Africa: The Agony of Apartheid	32
Isinaliyev, M. Racists Under the 'Umbrella' of the United States .	36

EVENTS, FIGURES, FACTS	38
----------------------------------	----

SCIENTIFIC LIFE

Lunev, S. The INC [Indian National Congress]: 100 Years of History	42
--	----

REPLIES TO READERS

Kulkova, S. Algeria: The Socialist Orientation and Private Enterprise	43
---	----

JOURNEYS, MEETINGS, IMPRESSIONS

Ganiyev, A. Madagascar: On the Sacred 'Blue Hill'	46
Baykov, V. Afghanistan: Marziya	48

CULTURE, LITERATURE, ART

Yelizarov, Yu. The Russian Language in Tunisia	50
Kimenye, Barbara (Uganda). 'The Guest' (A Story)	51

PAGES OF HISTORY

Davidson, Appollon. Conan Doyle -- The Unmasker of Colonialism . .	54
--	----

TRADITIONS, CUSTOMS, MANNERS

Asoyan, B. Tropical Africa: What Beauty Is	58
--	----

STAMP COLLECTING

Sladkov, A. This Varied New Year	60
--	----

BOOK WORLD	61
----------------------	----

COIN COLLECTING

Nikitin, A. The Coins of the Ephthalites	63
--	----

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/194

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

U.S. 'STRATEGY' IN PACIFIC REGION ANALYZED, CRITICIZED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 5-8

[Article by G. Kim, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences":
"The Pacific Ocean Region in Imperialism's Strategy"]

[Excerpts] The Asia-Pacific Ocean region today represents an extremely complex center of international relations. Obviously, there is no other region of the globe with states at such different levels of economic development, differing from one another in socioeconomic systems, culture, religious creeds, and traditions. Specific historical features of the development of the countries of this region are an important cause of the complicated interrelations among them and the emergence of sharp conflict situations. The legacy of the colonial period, the consequences of World War II, and the appearance of new forms of imperialist exploitation and neocolonialism also have a destabilizing effect on the sociopolitical situation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region.

Despite the fact that certain developing countries located there show relatively high rates of economic growth, the gap in the levels of development between them and the developed capitalist states remains enormous. It is important to note that this gap is not diminishing.

A significant destabilizing factor in the region is the process of militarization resulting from the involvement of many countries in the global arms race. The possibility of the deployment of nuclear weapons is fraught with special danger for this region of the globe. According to press reports, a number of the region's countries, among them South Korea, Taiwan, and Pakistan, are already on the verge of building their own nuclear weapons. The emergence of "small" nuclear powers may lead to unforeseen consequences not only on the regional level but on the global level as well.

As is well-known, the attempts of certain Western powers, above all the United States, to utilize their military potential to curb imminent social changes in this region gave rise to major wars after 1945 -- in Korea and Indochina.

In this way, a whole number of objective and subjective factors led to the Pacific Ocean region becoming and remaining a permanent center of potential and real crises in the postwar period.

At the present time there is much talk and writing overseas about the increased strategic importance of the Far East and the Pacific Ocean Basin for the United States. This region is often considered the "second front" of confrontation with the Soviet Union, along with Europe. In other words, it is increasingly becoming a constituent part of the global military-strategic system focused on "encircling" the USSR. The decision to include Japan in this system, made by the "Big Seven" in 1983 in Williamsburg, should be examined in precisely this aspect.

The conceptual plans of the United States in the Pacific Ocean region are focused first on "encircling" the Soviet Union, secondly, undermining the balance of strategic forces, and, thirdly, creating a nuclear beachhead for continuous pressure on the USSR in the immediate vicinity of Soviet Far-Eastern borders.

As William Aiken, the director of the Center for Nuclear Arms Problems, pointed out, the Reagan administration considers increasing the number of U.S. nuclear forces in the Pacific Ocean region its primary task. In addition to the nuclear munitions already on American 7th Fleet ships, Tomahawk cruise missiles, a substantial number of which will be equipped with nuclear warheads, have begun to be deployed on them. According to foreign press data, there are carriers of this type of weapons on American bases in Japan, South Korea, and the Phillipines. The attention which the American administration is devoting to medium-range nuclear weapons confirms that influential U.S. circles are betting on the possibility of local nuclear war, limited, for example, to the Far East theater of military operations. In that case, the Asian allies of the United States in reality become nuclear hostages of Washington.

It must be emphasized that the USSR has never opposed friendly U.S. relations with the Pacific Ocean region countries. Nonetheless, the Soviet public cannot fail to be concerned when Washington uses the bonds of alliance in the interests of its own global anti-Soviet strategy.

Western political scientists often pose the question of why the Soviet Union criticizes the Japanese-American "security agreement" so harshly. Here are some of the most important reasons for this position.

First, this agreement in fact views the USSR as a potential military adversary.

Secondly, the American bases on Japan's territory have been turned into the United States' leading nuclear beachhead directed against the Far Eastern regions of the USSR. The recent deployment to Misawa Air Base of F-16 planes capable of delivering nuclear strikes on Soviet objectives in the Maritime region and on Sakhalin attests especially eloquently to this.

Thirdly, the continuous calls of American military ships carrying nuclear weapons at Japanese ports is a continual source of threat both for the Soviet Union and for other countries of this region. Can one really exclude the possibility of a provocatory or accidental incident on these ships which could

provoke a response from the USSR? In an editorial on the visit by the American nuclear-powered aircraft carrier Carl Vinson at Sasebo, the Japanese newspaper ASAHI justifiably wrote that "this will further aggravate military tension in the Far East."

Finally, on the basis of the "security agreement," coordination of the activities of the American and Japanese armed forces directed against the USSR is being expanded and intensified. And it concerns such areas as exchanging intelligence information and conducting joint maneuvers, including work on the possibilities of blocking straits in order to prevent the Soviet fleet from reaching the Pacific Ocean.

The military presence of the United States in South Korea cannot fail to arouse the concern of the Soviet public. The study "The Pacific Ocean Command: The Structure and Strategy of American Armed Forces in the Pacific Ocean," published in the United States, points out that nuclear mines and storage facilities with nuclear antiartillery ammunition and aerial bombs are the main firepower of American forces in South Korea." A large number of different carriers of nuclear arms, including F-16 fighter-bombers, have been deployed to South Korea. American 7th Fleet warships carrying nuclear weapons call on the ports of Pusan and Chinhae.

As is well-known, during the years of the Korean War, U.S. officials talked of the possibility of using nuclear weapons in Korea and China. Such irresponsible statements were also made later. Thus, the former U.S. chief of staff E. Meyer emphasized that "American armed forces in South Korea can use tactical nuclear weapons in case of necessity."

The United States' intentions to coordinate the military activities of Japan and South Korea and, on the broad scale, to create a new triple (the United States, Japan, and South Korea) military-political alliance arouse the concern of not only the socialist countries but also other states in the Pacific Ocean region.

It is completely natural that the course to "encircle" the USSR and create the "new front" in the Far East compels our country to fortify the defense of its own Far Eastern borders.

In recent years the United States has been devoting a great deal of attention to the activities of the ANZUS [Australia, New Zealand, the United States] military bloc. It is difficult to imagine that anyone could believe in the existence of a military threat from the USSR to Australia or New Zealand. But nonetheless, the idea of a "global threat" supposedly originating in the Soviet navy is being intensively propagated. The U.S. Secretary of State G. Schultz announced at the 33rd session of the military grouping: "Ultimately ANZUS is not simply an isolated bloc intended for one region of the globe; it is a part of the broader system of relations which help repulse the global threat." As is well known, the Indian Ocean is also included in the sphere of ANZUS activity.

It is precisely in the context of the "global approach" that we should examine Washington's unprecedented pressure on Canberra and Wellington to get

permission for American ships carrying nuclear arms to call at ports in Australia and New Zealand and for U.S. atomic bombers to use Australian airports.

Certain aspects of American policy regarding the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] regional grouping cannot help but put us on guard. Facts confirm that the United States does not support the course to turn Southeast Asia into the zone of peace and stability proclaimed by this association's members. It is precisely in this region that a complex of the largest U.S. Air Force and Navy bases are located. According to newspaper reports, the Pentagon is studying the question of deploying an additional number of nuclear warheads, cruise missiles, and chemical weapons there.

The impression is created that Washington intentionally encourages and supports a "hard" line regarding the "Kampuchean problem" in order to prevent a relaxation of tension in Southeast Asia and thus tries to turn ASEAN into a military grouping associated with the United States and its allies.

Such negative developmental trends in the situation in the Asia-Pacific Ocean region should arouse the attention of the public of the countries located there to the danger of the emergence of a nuclear conflict which would inevitably turn into a world catastrophe. Asia, the continent which not only bore all the burdens of World War II but also experienced the horror of the nuclear bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, must not become the arena of a new world war.

Postwar history confirms that relaxation of tension in the Pacific Ocean region in many respects depends on the realistic, considered policies of the great powers. In addition, it is obvious that in recent years quite a lot of mutual suspicion and distrust, which impedes the realization of the process of detente there, has accumulated.

In striving to normalize the international situation, the Soviet Union has proposed a number of important foreign policy initiatives which include the fundamental issues: limitation and substantial reduction of the arms race, especially nuclear missile arms; refusal to be the first to use nuclear weapons or to use them against nonnuclear states; peaceful cooperation in space in conditions of its demilitarization; and a reduced level of naval activity in the Atlantic Ocean and especially in major sea lane regions.

The moratorium on nuclear explosions until 1 January 1986 proclaimed by the Soviet Union is important. The USSR has agreed to extend the moratorium if the United States follows its example.

Broad circles of the public in the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean Basin were pleased with the Geneva meeting, justifiably linking it to their hopes for an improved international climate, including in their own region. As for the Soviet Union, it is prepared to actively help realize any constructive initiatives focused on normalizing the political situation in this part of the globe.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/194

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

RAJIV GANDHI, INC (I) EXTOLLED, NEED FOR INC (I) UNITY STRESSED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 10-12

[Article by A. Sarvarov: "India: In Search of Constructive Solutions"]

[Excerpts] January 26 has been celebrated as a national holiday in India since 1950. India's new constitution which proclaimed it a sovereign republic went into effect on that historic day for the country. Since that time the military parade and holiday processions of representatives of all states and union territories of the enormous multinational Indian state on Delhi's main street -- Raj Path -- have become a traditional demonstration of the successes of the great Asian power and the achievements of the industrious people of India.

The results of the past year, which by general acknowledgement of Indian and foreign observers was certainly not a simple one, are being summarized on this significant date. It happens that this year's celebration of the regular anniversary of India's being proclaimed a republic coincides with the end of the first year of rule of the new government of the ruling party, the Indian National Congress (I. Gandhi) -- the INC (I) headed by Rajiv Gandhi. The relatively short period of time that R. Gandhi has been in power has proven to be packed with events in both the foreign policy sphere and especially in the sphere of domestic policy.

In view of the events which preceded R. Gandhi's coming to power, paramount attention in the activities of his government in the sphere of domestic policy was devoted to measures to preserve and strengthen national unity and insure the territorial integrity of India. Main efforts in this direction were focused on a political solution to the Punjab problem, which was most acute at that time. The government made certain compromises, among others freeing the leaders of the Sikh Akali Dal party from prison and appointing a commission to study the circumstances of anti-Sikh pogroms in Delhi after the murder of I. Gandhi. These steps created the conditions for signing the 24 July 1985 agreement on settling the Punjab problem. Under it the government essentially satisfied all the basic demands of the moderate Akali Dal leaders. This document laid an important foundation for normalizing the situation in the state. The government's next step to stabilize the situation in Punjab was to hold elections to the state legislative assembly in late September 1985; they had been repeatedly put off because of the tense situation. Despite the

victory of the Akali Dal, which received 73 of the 115 seats, rather than the INC (I), the results of the vote should be regarded as a triumph of those who supported normalizing the situation in Punjab and a major defeat for the opponents of the July agreement belonging to the numerous extremely nationalistic and extremist forces, which found themselves in isolation. As a result of the elections the moderate leadership of the Akali Dal, who like the central government were interested in realizing the agreements on settling the crisis in this strategically important state, came to power in Punjab.

Along with efforts to solve the Punjab problem, R. Gandhi's government also took steps to normalize the situation in Assam and a number of the country's other northeastern states. As a result of negotiations with the leaders of the nationalist Assam organizations, on 15 August 1985 an agreement was signed to settle the situation in Assam, creating conditions to stop the riots and demonstrations of nationalists in favor of expelling people of non-Assam origin from the state, which had been going on for almost 6 years. The central government also agreed to dissolve Assam's Legislative Assembly elected in 1983 and hold new elections there.

Another problem which the R. Gandhi cabinet faced was the situation in the state of Gujarat, where active demonstrations by students and state employees against the attempts of local authorities to raise the number of places in educational and administrative institutions for representatives of the most backward strata of the population in the socioeconomic sense (Harijan, Aviasis, Muslims, and others) occurred in the first half of 1985 in various cities. These actions led to major confrontations on religious-communal grounds, with more than 250 victims. On R. Gandhi's initiative, negotiations were held in the state with the leaders of the opposition groupings. As a result, an agreement to stop the riots was reached in July 1985.

The government's constructive measures to strengthen the unity and integrity of India and solve the most crucial problems in Punjab and Assam as well as in Gujarat and Jammu and the Kashmir to a certain degree relieved the acuteness of the domestic policy tension, led to a certain stabilization of the situation in the country, and substantially consolidated the authority of the ruling party and Rajiv Gandhi personally.

In government policy special attention is being devoted to increasing the efficiency of the work of the party and state apparatus, which have been assigned a key role in realizing governmental programs. For these purposes, in the past year the INC (I) managed to substantially reform the composition of its factions in parliament and in the state legislative assemblies and reorganize the central and state apparatus of the ruling party as well as the local Congress Party governments. The governors were replaced in a number of key states. Measures to organizationally consolidate the INC (I) to a certain extent helped lessen the factional struggle in party organizations and rejuvenate the party ranks. Along with the older and middle generations of Congress Party members, representatives of the new, younger generation of leaders of the National Congress -- the supporters of R. Gandhi and like-minded people -- have begun to play an increasingly active role in the INC (I) apparatus.

Striving to turn the INC (I) into a dynamic and organizationally cohesive party, its leadership plans to try to hold internal party elections on all levels after a 14-year interval and abandon the practice of designating functionaries. Activities to celebrate the centennial of the ruling party's formation in December 1985 were of important mobilizing significance to the INC (I) and convincingly demonstrated that at that particular time the National Congress was the largest and most influential political force in India.

The Indian leadership's concern with large-scale and crucial domestic policy problems did not lessen their attention to foreign policy issues nor lead to a reduction in the country's foreign policy activism. Having consolidated their domestic policy positions during the parliamentary elections and as a result of the vigorous measures adopted to solve pressing problems, the R. Gandhi government not only managed to preserve but in a number of important directions increase India's activism in international affairs. Despite clearly increased pressure on India from the imperialist powers and despite the West's hopes, the new Indian leadership continued to follow an independent positive course focused on consolidating peace, curbing the arms race, and settling conflict situations in various regions of the globe.

India's active antimilitaristic position was clearly manifested, for example, in its initiative on convening a meeting in Delhi in early 1985 of the leaders of the six neutral and nonaligned countries which had adopted a declaration on issues of disarmament and the prevention of the militarization of space, and in other international actions. In the responsible post of chairman of the nonalignment movement, R. Gandhi did a great deal to preserve the unity of its ranks and increase its activism in solving vital world problems.

In its foreign policy Indian diplomacy continues to devote fixed attention to the Asian sector, above all smoothing and improving relations with neighboring countries, for these purposes arranging regional cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, and other spheres, and settling unresolved problems.

In summarizing the results it should be stated that the policies of the new Indian leadership headed by R. Gandhi in their main directions continue the domestic policy and foreign policy course of J. Nehru and Indira Gandhi. In a relatively short period of time the INC (I) government has managed to accomplish a great deal within the framework of this course to stabilize and normalize the situation within the country and to consolidate India's authority in the international arena. But the problems which the country faces are enormous. The Indian leadership's aspiration to accelerate development in conditions of a so-called "mixed economy" frequently aggravates old contradictions and causes new ones to arise. The struggle against mass poverty and unemployment, subversive separatist elements, and organized political terrorism remains urgent. Other equally crucial socioeconomic, political, national, and ethnic problems also await solution.

Nonetheless, the successes of the Indian people on the path of independent development are very impressive. The Soviet people rejoice in these successes and as sincere friends desire to see India a strong and prospering state.

COPYRIGHT: "Azia i Afrika segodnya", 1985
Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM, 'MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD' IN EGYPT VIEWED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 22-26

[Article by A. Vasilyev, doctor of historical sciences: "Islamic Fundamentalism and Egypt"]

[Excerpts] I absolutely reject the assertion that religion is the proper basis for political action. Our nationalism must be based on our interests rather than beliefs. (Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, leader and ideologist of the People's Party, beginning of the 20th century)

Allah is our ideal. The Prophet -- our leader. The Koran -- our constitution. (Hasan al-Banna, founder of the "Muslim Brotherhood" association, 1936)

... Ban all propaganda for racial or religious communal exclusivity which concerns the unity of Egyptians, intensify the appeal for religious tolerance within the framework of the great Egyptian tradition: religion for Allah, but the homeland for all... (From the election program of the National Progressive (Left) Party, May 1984)

The President of Egypt Anwar Sadat was killed on 6 October 1981 at the parade of Egyptian troops marking the 8th anniversary of the crossing of the Suez Canal.

The participants in the conspiracy, who were executed after an investigation and trial, proved to be members of the "Jihad" organization composed of members of the extremist religious groupings "At-Takfir ua l-Hijra and Junud Allah." The name of the first of them is translated in two ways -- "Atonement and Exodus" or "Accusation of Unbelief and Hijra" and the second "Wars of Allah." The versions of CIA involvement in the conspiracy proposed by a number of researchers, among them Soviets, remain in the sphere of the author's deductions.

For Muslim extremists Sadat was an agent of the West which was corrupting and exploiting Muslims. He was a traitor to Islam and the Arabs who had concluded

peace with the Zionists. In this sense the aphoristic statement of the then prime minister of Lebanon Vazzan is justified: "Camp David killed Sadat."

The daring murder of the president at the parade shook Egypt and the entire Near East. But was this the first thunder bolt of the approaching storm? Is Egypt becoming a second Iran? Is the wave of Muslim fundamentalism lashing Egypt as it did Iran?

Several years have passed but categorical answers to the questions asked have still not been found.

Islam is diverse, many-sided, and contradictory. Sociopolitical trends of very different natures can take refuge under its banner.

The distinguishing feature of the 1970's-1980's period is that Egyptian fundamentalists themselves, that is, adherents to tradition and returning to the "golden age of Islam", do not recognize the regime's claims to the role of sincere spokesman for their sentiments and aspirations. The official Islam Al-Azhar¹ is one thing while the "people's" Islam, views, and ideas are something altogether different. Events in Iran, the triumph of the Islamic revolution, and its victory over the Shah and his American patrons naturally could not fail to arouse a response in the hearts of the Egyptians although the further development of events brought disappointment and even hatred of the "Mullahcracy" which took shape in Iran. It should be mentioned that the religious situation in Egypt is not the same as in Iran. In Iran all the Shi'a priesthood has opposed secular authority, considering it illegal. In Egypt a large number of the Sunni priests are part of the state apparatus. The "people's" Islam is beginning to oppose the authorities at certain times but not the Muslim establishment with Al-Azhar at the top.

The renewed influence of traditional social structures and their ideology is of very pragmatic significance to any policy. Increasingly broad masses who were formerly somewhere outside the social struggle have begun to enter the political arena. They have brought with them their language, their system of symbols, beliefs, and prejudices, and their political culture. Popular culture on the whole has proven to be more stable than the modernists of the most diverse colors and shades could imagine.

[Caption to photograph] As in the old days, the numerous mosques serve as unique centers of sociopolitical and cultural life of the Egyptian Muslims... In the picture: Cairo -- The Sultan Hasan mosque (14th century).

The experiment of revolutionary-democratic power lasted roughly one and one-half decades after the 23 July 1952 revolution in Egypt. One of its most striking features was that practice clearly had the advantage over theory. The Nasser regime first implemented its measures, some of which were of a revolutionary nature, and then interpreted them. Land reform and nationalization of foreign capital as well as capital belonging to the large and part of the middle bourgeoisie was carried out and then theorizing regarding it began. After initially breaking with the communists and the leftists and bringing down repression on them, the Egyptian revolutionary

democrats then began to recognize the need to cooperate with them. Many of the theoretical precepts of the Nasser anticapitalist measures have been found to be tinged with Marxist ideas. But the convergence of the revolutionary democrats with Marxists occurred unevenly, with breakdowns, and was not completed.

Despite decisively limiting large estate ownership, the activities of foreign capital, and a large part of the large and middle local bourgeoisie, trends toward a, so to speak, "bourgeois-ation" of the top levels of the state, administrative, and military apparatus appeared in Egypt. This is natural for a national democratic regime when a proletarian party or a party with a proletarian ideology is not in power. There were no major obstacles to this process except the president's personal integrity. The corruption and monstrous bureaucratism of the Egyptian administration was preserved. Along with it and within it, the so-called "parasitic bourgeoisie" grew through contracts and speculations, and simply by theft and bribery. In the countryside the kulaks became stronger.

It may be said that by the early 1970's the potential for a "bloodless" counterrevolution had matured in Egypt. That was the trend and that is the subject here, not its particular manifestations. However, certain persons with their convictions and views who by the play of history found themselves heads of state, especially of a state such as Egypt, influenced the form of manifestation of this trend, helped curb it, or, in contrast, unleash it. In this sense the replacement of the president in 1970 played a decisive, fateful role.

The Sadat regime proved to be bankrupt. It tried to replace pan-Arabism with narrow mercenary Egyptian nationalism. But its dialogue with the outside world after the break with the Soviet Union and reorientation to the West turned into political surrender at Camp David and led to Egypt's isolation in the Arab world. The experiments and reforms with a socialist slant were discarded in the name of unbridled capitalist enterprise. A miserly speculator was elevated to the pedestal in place of an officer-patriot.

The masses looked on the parasitism of the substrata of the nouveau riche which had emerged -- the "infatih fat cats" -- and at all their ever-greater break with national traditions with churning dissatisfaction or agonizing disappointment. Along with the corrupted bureaucrats and the intelligentsia they had bought, these nouveau riche more and more acquired the features of those known in the West as "cosmopolitans," while in the Near East they are called Levantines."

Did the Egyptian leaders understand the hatred the "infatih fat cats" aroused in the poverty-stricken population? And what a danger the neo-collaborators' break with national traditions, forming an ideological vacuum, represented for the regime? Perhaps they understood, but not fully. Therefore, Sadat continually appealed to Islam and to Muslim sentiments not only to strike against the left and patriotic forces but also to justify the "infatih" with references to Muslim authorities and to divine predestination. Time and again he used quotes from the Koran and the Sunna, defending social inequality, and

would use them against religious egalitarians or Marxist and leftist radicals, finding support with the official Sunni priesthood.

The Ulem theologians tried to sanctify the Camp David agreements and the separate peace with Israel with their own authority by issuing an appropriate "fetva." Al-Azhar found a precedent for the Egyptian-Israeli treaty in the diplomacy of the prophet Muhammed and derived the attitude toward war and peace from a treaty concluded by him in 628 A.D. -- the so-called "Hudaybiyah treaty" with the clan which ruled Mecca.

Sadat was tireless in justifying all his activities by "divine Providence." Not suffering from excess modesty, he asserted that the hand of Allah was leading him on the road of life.

When we speak of the "Muslim fundamentalists," we mean more than just the "Muslim Brotherhood." The spectrum of those who appeal to Islamic values and live in the hope of a return to the "golden age of Islam" is broad. Almost a hundred religious organizations of different sects with different degrees of politicization exist in Egypt, from those whose members merely pray together to Muslim revolutionaries who do not simply believe in violence but resort to it and presently represent the only armed opposition to the regime. But without going into detail, the worldview of most of them coincides in general features to the basic ideological precepts of the "Muslim Brotherhood."

The "Brotherhood" defines "two types of imperialism": the foreign kind -- the brute strength of the occupying power -- and the internal, "domestic" kind -- those strata of society which consciously or unconsciously, at best from indifference and at worst from betrayal of the interests of the Muslim community, serve the cause of the foreign enemies. Internal imperialism disseminated the ideas of moral defeat and decline and after turning the Egyptians from their traditional beliefs, led them to fatal pacificism, pitiful degradation, and acceptance of the status-quo.

The ideas of parliamentarism and democratic government failed in Egypt, the "Brotherhood" concluded. The "upper class," which had concentrated political-economic power in their own hands, "monopolized" the government. The people were compelled to elect a parliament from among their oppressors. The administration was the victim of the political corruption of the parties. The distinguishing features of the bureaucracy were its inefficiency and corruption; its actions involved red tape, abuse of authority and power, including personal authority and power, and appointments to posts made with no consideration for the merits of the person appointed.

In Egypt's economic life, the "Brotherhood" notes unfair distribution of power and land, calling it "Egyptian capitalism," as well as foreign economic exploitation.

The "Brotherhood" believes that this situation in the religious, political, and economic spheres is leading to many negative consequences. It paralyzes the nation's production forces and degrades human dignity and rights. It corrupts the individual. It negates individual security. It "pushes people into the hands of the communists." It violates the spirit of religion.

For the "Brotherhood" the West includes both the capitalist world and the world of socialism, which, following Western propaganda, they call the "communist world." They believe Western civilization has both negative and positive aspects. Among the positive are democracy and representative parliaments. The merits of the "communist world" also merit attention -- concern for the poor, equality, the mutual responsibility of different classes, and fraternity and humanity in interrelations among peoples. These qualities may lead to social justice on the material level. "Russian communism may become a possible path of development of Christian Western Europe. We have no cause for hostility between Islam and the idea of social justice, the kind of hostility which exists between Western Christianity and communism," wrote the "Brotherhood." In their opinion, nonreligious "Russian socialism," due to its emphasis on social justice, is the only alternative to the particular "Islamic socialism" of which the "Brotherhood" was compelled to speak.

Be that as it may, capitalism is equivalent to shameless individualism and, in this way, to social chaos, while communism is equivalent to atheism, and they are all united in materialism. The bitterness which the "Brotherhood" feels toward Egyptian capitalism nudges them toward the idea of considering all the capitalist West and its leader, the United States, their real enemy.

Americanization, imposed on mass consciousness by television, opens a world so alien to most that it arouses protest and repulsion and in itself forces people to search for something stable and permanent and "their own." Muslim fundamentalists appeal to the masses in their language and use models and stereotypes which the masses understand. Their propaganda is an obvious contrast to the banality and hypocrisy of the official media.

The appeal of the fundamentalists means that the masses must act and participate in politics rather than be observers, while the official political culture has reduced them at best to the position of extras, giving active roles only to the "elite," only to the rulers.

Camp David and the separate peace with Israel showed to what degradation the Sadat regime had brought Muslims. The "Brotherhood" position is based on its own vision of history and historical precedents. They recalled the struggle of the Prophet Muhammed with the Jews, projecting it on the struggle of the Muslim world with Zionism and Israel. The fundamentalists continually assert that the Jews "will never renounce the belief that they are God's chosen people." Sadat's entire plan was a sham: he accepted the idea of the Near East order although the very concept of the "Near East" is intolerable to the sense of a Muslim since it defines the Muslim world through its relation to the West -- under Jewish hegemony." It is impossible to carry on negotiations with the invader and let him have historical rights, the fundamentalists have said; Islam taught the people to fight and die for worthy goals, and the followers of Islam must again show their will, persistence, and endurance in the struggle.

For the "Brotherhood" Palestine is not only an object of Zionist aggression, but also the first line of defense of the Arab nation and the "Arab homeland."

It is the "heart of the Arab world," the "center of the Muslim peoples," and the first of two "kibl" (sides) (while praying the early Muslims first turned toward Jerusalem, not Mecca -- author), and the third most important Muslim sacred place is located in Palestine, in Jerusalem.

Israel's actions are identified with the Christian Crusades, while Zionism is fully associated with the West's imperialism. The aggressive actions of Tel-Aviv merely incite the anti-Israeli sentiments of the "Muslim Brotherhood."

The solution which the "Brotherhood" offers is to "return to genuine Islam." Muslims must oppose foreign ideologies because they do not need them since Islam includes the best features of them all.

The final goal of the "Brotherhood" is to create an Islamic regime which includes the creation of a "Muslim state based on the Shariat."

Social contradictions in Egypt have always been so sharp that they inspired all sorts of extremists -- from the "leftists" to Muslim revolutionaries and fascists. But even in a period of despair and social difficulties, in choosing between extreme solutions and the attempt to achieve a compromise and preserve peace, most Egyptians prefer the second alternative. This phenomenon is well known and the author by no means considers himself its discoverer. Both foreigners and Egyptians have written about it. I will merely refer to the publicist Ghali Shukri and his collection of essays "Memoirs of a Dying Culture," devoted to the social and political thought of Egypt. Shukri wrote that the profound religiosity of the Egyptian people offered the "Muslim Brotherhood" a field for maneuvering and gave them an opportunity to control the feelings of the people and mobilize them to support their own desires. But the "Muslim Brotherhood" suffered defeat in the 1940's-1950's because of their extremism and "extreme political reaction which does not meet the needs of a people dreaming of progress." "The Egyptian people, who in their blood synthesized many civilizations and religions, showed hospitality to those who proposed peaceful, moderate solutions," Ghali Shukri suggested.

It may appear to the reader that the heavy counterarguments cited here attest to the author's conviction that Muslim fundamentalism in Egypt has no future. No. In evaluating this extremely complex sociopolitical and ideological phenomenon the author prefers "to be an Egyptian" and not take a categorical position.

Historical experience shows that the movement of the Muslim fundamentalists may completely destabilize the present regime by taking away its religious cover and tearing off its raiments of Muslim legality. For whom will it thereby clear the path -- for itself or for others? It is difficult to say. The national character of the Egyptians to which I referred also does not remain fixed in stone, fixed forever. It changes slowly and very slowly under the influence of changes in the fields of socioeconomic relations, culture, education, and communications, lagging behind these changes. But the changes themselves are speeding up, accelerating the restructuring of the national character as well.

Nothing is eternal.

Even on the shores of the Nile and in the shadow of the Sphinx and the pyramids.

FOOTNOTE

1. Al-Azhar (Al-Jami al-Azhar) is a complex of Muslim religious and secular higher educational institutions and scientific research institutes in Cairo. It includes the Academy of Islamic Studies and the Al-Azhar University with departments of Muslim law, engineering, agriculture, medicine, and others. It was founded in the 10th century at a mosque of the same name.

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya i Afrika segodnya", 1985

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/194

THIRD WORLD ISSUES

SUDAN'S PAST, CURRENT REGIMES, POLICIES EVALUATED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 1, Jan 86 pp 27-31

[Article by G. Mirskiy, doctor of historical sciences, under the rubric "Countries, People, Times": "Sudan: The End of the Black Era"]

[Text] This date -- 6 April -- undoubtedly deserves to be among the national holidays of the Sudanese people. On this day in 1985 the dictatorship of General Nimeiri, which had lasted for one and one-half decades, fell and the "black era" of despotic antipeople rule ended. In the brief history of independent Sudan -- only 3 decades but incredibly saturated with dramatic events -- an important page has been turned.

Milestones of History

1 January 1956. The birth of the republic. The bureaucratic caste related to the tribal and feudal aristocracy, merchant bourgeoisie, and British capital comes to power in the enormous, backward, peasant, ethnically mixed country. After the brief rule of a coalition right-centrist cabinet which fell as a result of domestic crisis, the government headed by the leader of the rightist "Al-Ummah" party, retired General Khalil, is already formed in the summer of that year.

The following 2 years are marked by a steady deterioration in the country's economic situation, a decline in the population's standard of living, and a catastrophic fall of revenue from exporting cotton. Trade unions and students protested more and more vigorously against the government and ultimately Khalil transferred power virtually with his own hands to General Abbud -- the leader of a group of high-ranking officers who believed it was time to curb the opposition. But the first military regime was not able to solve a single one of the country's urgent problems: the stagnation of the economy, lawlessness, and the arbitrary rule of the military clique set broad strata of the people against Abbud. An opposition front of parties from the right to the left was created. Generals lost authority even in the army itself. And when a strike by the intelligentsia of the capital began in October 1964 after police violence against Khartoum University students, the army split.

October 1964. Military units under the command of young progressive-minded officers surround Abbud's palace and manage to disband the Supreme Council of

Armed Forces ruled by the government. Civilian democratic rule is established. But only a short time passes before the word "democratic" must be put in quotation marks as applied to Sudan. The "Westminster System" does not work. There is a parliament and there are parties but matters get worse and worse in the economy: the incompetency and inefficiency of the government are apparent to everyone; there is not even a trace of the social justice promised; corruption is spreading; party bosses are squabbling among themselves; and there is no stability and no long-term programs to normalize the country. The conservative "Al-Ummah" party which represents a self-seeking privileged minority returns to power.

It seemed that everything was going back to the old track. But not quite. The army was no longer the same. It had been "politicized." The old, conservative military leaders of the "British school" had been discredited during Abbud's dictatorship and were forced to give up their positions to young officers who ultimately saw that even the civilian regime did not live up to the people's expectations and decided to take power into their own hands.

May 1969. A military coup. The young officers, the vanguard of which included revolutionary democrats who were close to the communist party, smash the bankrupt regime with a sudden blow. The course to socialist orientation is proclaimed and communists enter the government. The young general Nimeiri -- senior in rank, though by no means the most important of the initiators of the revolution -- becomes chairman of the ruling Revolutionary Council. In his sincere face few then saw the ambitious and power-seeking adventurer, a person without ideas and without principles, an opportunist who joined the revolution for his own personal goals.

The conflict between Nimeiri and the genuinely leftist forces who carried out the revolution came quickly. A polarization of forces occurs. The bureaucracy, the petty bourgeois nationalist circles, and all the privileged strata who feared the influence of the communists are under Nimeiri's banner and push him even further to the right. Nimeiri removes the leftist officers from the Revolutionary Council and, seeing no other solution, they organize a conspiracy.

July 1971. A military coup. Nimeiri is overthrown but... only for 3 days. Tank troops loyal to him enter Khartoum and free him from arrest. Harsh reprisals against all leftist elements follow. Democratic officers are shot without trial and investigation; the leader of the Sudanese trade unions Al-Shafi Ahmad al-Shaykh and the general secretary of the Sudanese CP 'Abd al-Khaliq Mahjub are executed. Reaction grows throughout the line. The new orientation is clear -- development of capitalism within the country and alliance with the United States of America in the foreign policy arena. Nimeiri's best friend is President Sadat, who put an end to Nasser's revolutionary course in his own country. Sudan becomes a center of reaction and a beachhead of imperialism at the junction of the Arab world and Tropical Africa.

At an Impasse

Years pass. Fourteen years pass. It seems that Sudan sleeps the sleep of the dead. All the living forces in the country have been rendered lifeless. The nation's best people, the patriots, and the democrats, are killed, subjected to repression, and driven underground. The bureaucratic bourgeoisie which dominates the country, including the military establishment, thinks only of its own interests and has neither the desire nor the ability to govern the state intelligently and fairly. The dictator, devoid of any positive ideas, living in constant fear of a revolt, and engaged in unending "purges" and shuffling of leadership cadres, has brought Sudan to an impasse. The British journal SOUTH wrote: "Sudan... is in a bankrupt condition. The economy is almost ruined and burdened with enormous foreign debts which the country is in no position to pay... Signs of economic collapse are increasing. The supply of electricity often stops, and sometimes for several days. The inflation level is very high. Telephone communications don't work and factories stand idle because of the lack of electricity or spare parts... In 1973-1974 Sudan produced 1.24 million bales of cotton. In 1980-1981 cotton production fell to 544,000 bales. Cotton exports, which in 1970 accounted for 60 percent of all Sudanese exports, at most yielded 40 percent of the foreign revenue. In 1970-1971 freight turnover of Sudanese railroads equaled 2.8 million kilometric tons, but in 1980-1981 -- only 1.5 million kilometric tons. The railway network has reached a state of de facto breakdown. How could the country go downhill so quickly and so catastrophically?"

By the end of Nimeiri's term in power, Sudan's foreign debt had risen to 9 million dollars. Every year payments on debts totaled approximately 800 million dollars, which was equal to the annual income from exports. The debt to the International Monetary Fund was estimated at 120 million dollars. And how was the enormous amount of capital received from abroad spent? It is believed that almost 75 percent of the credit was not at all spent for those projects for which it had been allotted. For example, the 5 million dollars received on credit from Spain to build technical institutions went in fact to buy buses for the Military Economic Administration.

To celebrate the 15th (and last) anniversary of his coming to power, Nimeiri ordered 3,000 watches with his portrait on them, worth 156,000 dollars, from Switzerland and distributed them as gifts; needless to say, all the costs were charged to the government.

A correspondent of the British journal MIDDLE EAST INTERNATIONAL reported from the southern provinces: "Many development projects existed on paper and gathered dust in safes... Sometimes stones were laid, sometimes a building was erected but the equipment never even arrived. In Mongalla first-class equipment worth millions of dollars obtained on credit from Denmark was delivered -- and thrown to rust in the bushes... "

Problems of the South

To all this we must add the enormous expenditures related to conducting war in the south: a million dollars a day. Why was this war undertaken?

The southern regions of Sudan were inhabited by Negroid people, the so-called Nilotes (Shilluk, Dinka, Bari, Nuer, and others) who professed either Christianity or animistic cults, rather than Arabs. There are many representatives of the Bantu in the Equatorial Province. The southerners differ from the northerners not only in religion but also in language and culture. The south is the most backward part of Sudan. The standard of living of the southerners is substantially lower than in the North. Beginning in the times of British dominance, the problems of the South have always received less attention and this part of the country is considered a secondary appendage; the inhabitants of the South were looked on with condescension and contempt, as savages. Expenditures for developing the South were scanty: thus, in the last years of Nimeiri's rule the South, according to the English press, actually received no more than 8-15 percent of those budget allocations which they were officially allotted.

But it is not just a matter of economics. Discrimination in admission for study and in state service, the lack of real opportunities to influence the march of events "in the center," in Khartoum, and to participate along with the northerners in managing the country, and the dominance of emigrants from the North in the administrative apparatus of the southern provinces -- these are the reasons which back 20 years ago led to the start of the war in the South. Some of the organizations involved in the uprising favored separating from the North altogether and forming an independent state.

In Addis-Ababa in 1972 Nimeiri concluded an agreement with the leaders of the South by which three southern provinces received a certain degree of self-rule. The war stopped, but not for good. In 1981, certain that the South was "pacified," Nimeiri dissolved the local regional government. The next year, continuing to violate the Addis-Ababa agreement, the dictator moved military units with Nilotes to the North and soon these units revolted. The Sudan People's Liberation Army emerged; it was headed by Colonel John Garang, who had crossed to the insurrectionists' side, was considered one of the most promising young officers, and had studied in the United States and had a doctor of economics degree. Garang (a southerner by origin) formed an army of 15,000-20,000 which was highly disciplined and had modern weapons.

The uprising, which had received the broadest support among the Dinka people, quickly enveloped two of the three southern provinces and in 1984 the insurgent army entered the third as well -- the Equatorial Province. As Sudanese communists noted, a broad partisan war was launched throughout the territory of the South and the authorities, frightened by its scope, resorted to mass repression. This war, the representatives of the communist party emphasized, finally shattered the country's economy and led to the complete degradation of its political system.

Dictatorship of the Bureaucracy

Nimeiri's regime, despotic, corrupted through and through, and staggeringly inefficient in the socioeconomic sphere, nonetheless had features which made it attractive to imperialist circles, above all Washington: vicious, militant anticommunism and the readiness to lend support to any forces in Africa and the Arab world fighting against progressive trends and leftist movements.

Nimeiri became actively involved in the pro-West game of the reactionary Arab regimes and turned Sudan into a bastion of imperialist policy in Africa. The Americans deployed two AWACS observation systems, F-15 planes, and 550 soldiers and officers as "service personnel" to military bases in Sudan. The Washington patrons lavishly endowed their client: in 1984 Sudan received 250 million dollars worth of aid from the United States (of all the African states only Egypt received more). U.S. military aid to Sudan totaled 40 million dollars.

What did the Nimeiri regime represent on the sociopolitical level and what was its social nature?

Sudanese CP member Izeddin Ali Amer noted that Nimeiri was surrounded by bureaucratic bourgeoisie and "bought" civil servants. The regime was undoubtedly proimperialist in general orientation and objectively promoted the development of capitalism in the country, but it was not bourgeois power in the usual sense of the word known in history.

What does the "national bourgeoisie" of such countries as Sudan represent? As a rule they are owners of a few dozen small enterprises of the light and food industries, transport, and the services sphere, building contractors, and, finally, a large army of merchants. Neither in economic influence nor in political pull, authority, or experience could these strata of the bourgeoisie which had not been consolidated in a unified class claim hegemony in the independent state that had emerged. From the very beginning the bureaucracy of all ranks which had already been "educated" by the British authorities and were partly related to the entrepreneurial strata but had particular interests in common firmly possessed the real power, while the intelligentsia, above all people of the free professions as well as trade unions, set the tone in political life.¹ The officers, who were petty bourgeois in origin and susceptible to the influence of the traditional small-property-owner and religious worldview, on the one hand, as well as nationalistic and "modernizing" ideas -- on the other, were also under the preeminent influence of the intelligentsia. The specter of these ideas and sentiments, however, is very broad -- from the left (for example, the influence of communists has always been quite strong among the intelligentsia and officers) to the extreme right, populist-theocratic, and sharply antidemocratic.

The incomplete nature of the process of class formation, the heterogeneity and mosaic nature of social structures, and the multistructured economy -- all these factors create a specific type of development in the political sphere. The Soviet researcher N.A. Simoniya notes in this connection that representatives of the social stratum which possesses a certain autonomy in regard to the various structures must obviously be the dominant force of a state in the early capitalist phase. "The bureaucracy -- civilian or military -- is this force only in that as the first phase of capitalism progresses and approaches the second and as the formation of the civilian society is completed and the bourgeoisie is converted into a "class in itself," the bureaucracy's autonomy and its obedience to the general class interests of the bourgeoisie erode... " This situation has not yet developed in Sudan.

Nimeiri's authoritarian regime, which ultimately degenerated into a despotic dictatorship, in practice served the interests of the "autonomous" bureaucracy mentioned above, or rather that part of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie which the Marxist author cited above described as "the people around Nimeiri." At the same time, this regime, though not complete adequately (by virtue of its extreme lack of control and unpredictability, harshness, and arbitrariness), also reflected the deep-seated interests of the bourgeoisie that was forming, at this stage being consolidated and developing in conditions of authoritarian rule -- that "low form of the bourgeois state system" with crude methods and forms of centralization," which N.A. Simoniya writes about. But, obviously, the extremes, repelled by the actions characteristic of the Nimeiri dictatorship and his open pro-American orientation which offended national sentiments, ultimately revolted against the tyrant and the bourgeois strata.

On the "Islamic Wave"

As for the personality of Nimeiri himself, on the one hand he in some ways recalls the Iraqi dictator Qasim, who was killed in 1963 (his inability to create an organized base of support in the society and continuous unprincipled maneuvering among various groupings and trends), and on the other he resembles the Ugandan despot Idi Amin (unlimited arbitrariness, pathological brutality, and proneness to unexpected turns in policy for theatrical effect). This type of "Bonapartism" comes to the surface of political life from time to time, creating temporary distorted state capitalist structures on the basis of unlimited personal power. But Nimeiri differed from his "cohorts" in his complete readiness to sell out his country's interests, both in large things and in small. Soon after his overthrow, the National Petroleum Company of Sudan, recently set up by him personally on the basis of an agreement with the Saudi scammer 'Adnan Khashuqi who was involved with American capital was eliminated (on this agreement the present head of the Military Council Suwar El Dahab said that it was the "height of political, administrative, and financial corruption").

Sensing his weakness and unpopularity, Nimeiri continued to maneuver and changed assistants. In 1977 he announced "national reconciliation" and included the former prime minister and leader of the Al-Ummah party al-Sadiq al-Mahdi and the head of the "Muslim Brotherhood" Hasan al-Turabi in the government. Both these politicians, despite all their differences, laid claim to an independent role, which the dictator did not intend to allow. Soon after Nimeiri drove them out while al-Turabi was even thrown in jail. When in 1982 prices for bread and sugar were raised at the demand of the International Monetary Fund and riots started in the country, the dictator fired the commander in chief of the armed forces and 22 senior officers besides and then set up the aforementioned Military Economic Administration -- a feeding trough for the military. Finally, in 1983, after proclaiming a "juridical revolution," Nimeiri set up Islamic law in the country and put the Shariat position into effect. "Islamization" began in Sudan.

This turn of events was by no means just the dictator's latest whim or trick. First, Nimeiri, who could not create his own strong, mass-mobilizing organization (a pseudoparty under the name the "Sudanese Socialist Union" preserved from the period of the 1969 revolution did not count), decided "in

the spirit of the times" to use the "Islamic wave" which had risen in the Arab world for his own purposes and inspire and attract broad strata of the population. Secondly, he had to secure himself by weakening and repressing critical sentiments among the representatives of the intelligentsia and persons of free occupations, above all judges and lawyers (44 judges had already been fired in June 1983). In addition, Nimeiri hoped to partly win over and partly pull the rug out from under the right Muslim opposition which had become stronger. Finally, under the slogan of "correcting customs and defending the faith," "Islamization" allowed him to hurl the full power of the repressive apparatus against the malcontents and protesters.

Symptomatically, back in 1977 the proright "Islam Direction" movement, which by 1980 had substantial influence in universities, began to gather strength. Thus the dictatorship was "winning over" the always dangerous, restless youth. Then it was decided to "win over" society as a whole.

Within the framework of the "juridical revolution", 58 people had their hands cut off for stealing. But the dictatorship did not achieve even one of its goals. The corps of judges and the lawyer collegium were not routed or frightened and the fundamentalist opposition did not disappear. One of the latter's organizations -- "The Republic Brotherhood" -- protested against the despotic power's attempts to use religion for its own purposes; the enraged Nimeiri ordered that its leader, 76-year-old Mahmud Muhammad Taha, be hanged in January 1985. This evil deed only intensified the hatred of the dictatorship, which spread to all strata of the society.

The Explosion of General Discontent

The British journal NEW AFRICAN wrote: "The people were indignant at the growing shortage of goods and the decline in the standard of living. The Draconian prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund combined with the growing wave of anti-Americanism among the population as a whole pushed thousands of Khartoum unemployed and poor to participate in demonstrations."

The scope of these demonstrations, organized in the spring of 1985 by trade unions and associations of people of the free professions, confirmed that the days of the dictatorship were numbered. "The fall of General Nimeiri was hardly unexpected," writes the deputy chief editor of the journal NEW AFRICAN Anver Versi, who visited Sudan after the revolution. "The main question during the 3-4 months before the 6 April revolt was how he would leave and who would follow him... It was clear that one of the three forces would take the most serious steps to overthrow Nimeiri: either the radically oriented young officers would carry out a leftist coup; organized in small circles like the 'Free Officers' movement which brought Nimeiri into power in 1969; or the senior officers who would try to restore the status-quo as fast as possible would carry out a pro-West coup with Egypt's support; or a radical popular revolution, organized by associations of people of the free professions and trade unions would occur... "

According to information from JEUNE AFRIQUE, the young officers let the general's elite know that they would not bring the troops into the streets to suppress the demonstrations. "The captains had already formed a second

edition of the 'Free Officers' movement and in these conditions the generals took the initiative themselves," wrote the journal.

5 April 1985. The forces of national salvation -- seven trade unions and five underground parties (the Al-Ummah, the national unionists, the unionist democrats, the communists, and the Ba'th [Arab Socialist Resurrectionist Party] members) -- concluded an agreement with the military represented by Brigadier General 'Uthman 'Abdallah Muhammad. It was already clear at that time: nothing less than a revolt of the masses which the lower levels of the army had joined was taking place. As Muhammed Ibrahim Nuqud, the general secretary of the Sudanese CP, writes: "The command was left with a choice: either they could take power or leave along with the dictator." Objectively, there was a third possibility: by acting energetically with the masses, the democratically minded lower levels of the army could have transferred power into the hands of representatives of the popular movement, but they proved to be psychologically unprepared to do so.

On 6 April 1985 the senior officers announced that Nimeiri had been removed from power (he returned from a trip to the United States at that time and found out about the collapse of his regime from President Mubarak at the Cairo airport), and on 9 April the Transitional Military Council was formed of 15 senior officers. The 50-year-old General Suwar El Dahab headed the council. The government was formed 16 days after the revolution.

And immediately political life, which was formerly icebound by the dictatorship, unfolded, began to seethe, and went into full swing. Fifteen parties and 77 trade unions entered the political arena. A correspondent of the journal MIDDLE EAST reported: "Almost daily rallies and meetings have turned Khartoum into the most politicized city of the Arab world. Complete freedom of opinions and contradictory convictions are being expressed with an incredible mixture of passion and tolerance."

Sudan is still Sudan. Secretly, like a fire in a peat-bog, the political struggle never stopped in the country. Various parties -- the Al-Ummah, the unionists, and the communists -- found themselves involved in it. The "Muslim Brotherhood" is also trying not to miss its chance: barely out of prison, Hasan al-Turabi created the "National Islamic Front." The leader of the Ansar sect, al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, who has, among other things, such a trump-card as direct descent from the celebrated Mahdi who in the late 19th century created the state which was later destroyed by the British, also lays claim to the highest post according to press reports.

But the "highest post" is a matter of the future when the country returns to civilian parliamentary rule. When will this happen? Prime minister Dafaala (the head of the Medics Union, one of the organizers of the demonstrations which led to the revolution, and representative of the Forces of National Salvation in negotiations with the military on the eve of 6 April 1985) announced: "Actually we are not allowed to carry out radical changes during the transitional period." Something, to be sure, has already been accomplished: the state security organization, which had 45,000 personnel, has been dissolved, a number of associates have been arrested and are under investigation, Nimeiri is being tried in absentia, the crimes of the former

vice-president al-Tayyib are under investigation, three southerners have been offered places in the government, and the "transitional executive council" headed by General Loro has been set up to solve the South's problems. It is impossible to get normal life going even on the economic level -- extract oil and dig the Dzhongley Canal to supply the North with water vitally necessary for irrigation -- without stopping the war in the South. But it is precisely the problem of the South which is now proving to be the Achilles heel of the fifth new regime. Garang has not ceased military actions and announced that a "second Nimeiri regime" was ruling in Khartoum.

The opinion of the Cuban newspaper GRANMA is of interest: "The Sudan Peoples' Liberation Army intends to prolong the struggle in order to implement radical transformations which were not accomplished as a result of the April revolution... It is known that the "Free Officers" movement which operates in the Sudanese army has declared itself an organic part of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and recognized Garang as its chairman... "

So, most likely, many representatives of the leftist forces of Sudan, especially in the military, consider the Garang movement the central element of the process of revolutionary transformations which have not yet received the proper development as a result of the "preventive revolution" of the generals. It is still too early to judge whether this is so. But it is already clear that most likely the direction of events in the country as a whole depends on the solution of the problem of the South.

At the extraordinary plenum of its Central Committee held on 20 April 1985, the Sudan CP emphasized the role of the alliance of popular masses and the army in defending what had been gained. The alliance of national forces of salvation, according to the communists' conviction, "upon becoming more representative" must become the organ of political power of the masses. The Transitional Military Council, the majority of which are figures of right-conservative orientation, must consolidate its authority when the year-long transitional period ends. The leftist forces demand that all legislative acts which restrict democracy must be replaced and the state apparatus reorganized. The problem of the struggle against hunger and giving practical assistance to the masses of starving people is extremely acute. Stopping the breakdown of the economy, putting an end to the devastation, and alleviating the exceptionally harsh situation of the popular masses -- these undoubtedly are the most urgent tasks the country faces.

We see that the recent "Sudanese cycle" continues: the bankruptcy of a corrupt and inept regime of the bureaucratic-bourgeois elite -- vigorous popular demonstrations called by trade unions and democratic social organizations -- the formation of an alliance of radically minded junior officers with civilian leftist forces -- the establishment of a new power. Today the scenario has changed somewhat but the essence of events is the same. Sudan cannot rise up and rush forward while still in the "enchanted circle." One can hope that this time the circle will be broken. The lessons of the "black era" -- the worst period in the history of the young African state -- which has finally sunk into the past are still too impressive and severe.

FOOTNOTE

1. The general secretary of the Sudan CP Central Committee points out that the petty bourgeois intelligentsia through the leaders of the trade unions of white collar workers and people of the free professions headed the uprising against Nimeiri" (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 9, 1985, p 62).

COPYRIGHT: "Aziya ia Afrika segodnya", 1985

Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury izdatelstva "Nauka"

12424

CSO: 1807/194

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

U.S. SUPPORT OF LATVIAN EMIGRE GROUPS DENOUNCED

Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 13 Feb 86 p 3

[Article by I. Berzinsh and Yu. Dmitriyev, under rubric "On the Front Lines of the Ideological Struggle": "The 'Baltic Card' in Washington's Deck"]

[Text] More than 45 years have passed since the socialist revolutions occurred in Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and the Soviet authority was restored. After overthrowing the exploiter system and voluntarily becoming part of the USSR, the workers in the Soviet Baltic republics achieved great success in their economic, social, and cultural development.

It would seem to be obvious that the sovereign choice made by the nations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia in the summer of 1940 predetermined their successes in socialist construction. It is obvious, but not to everyone. Our ideological opponents, failing to note the obvious facts, continue their fruitless attempts to refute history itself, and to place in doubt the "legality" of the restoration of Soviet authority in the Baltic republics.

Among those who are especially zealous in their attempts to revise the past, the by no means smallest role is played by the Baltic emigre organizations. Their leaders, blinded by their class hatred, indiscriminately interpreting the events that are almost half a century old, take aim at the present, attempting if not to strike out, then at least to belittle the achievements of the workers of the Soviet Baltic republics in all areas of their life.

While modernizing the forms and methods of their subversive activity, those who are "eternally living in the past" have not changed their goals. They are motivated by the attempt to maintain, among a definite part of the emigre population, the illusory hope of the restoration of the old orders on their former homeland, the desire to demonstrate their zeal to those who are ready to use the "Baltic card" in the dirty political game.

Standing behind the reactionary emigre groups are the extreme rightist circles of imperialism, chiefly the United States. It is precisely those circles which do not find acceptable the present-day course of social development, and which lay claim to the right to dictate to nations the conditions, forms, and paths of their social life. They render lavish assistance to ultrarightist foundations and committees and to subversive ideological centers, and urge

the governments in the leading Western powers to carry out an even more conservative policy with respect to the countries of socialism, and to the nonrecognition of the political realities which have developed in the world today.

Practice is also well matched to their plans. The U.S. rightist circles have undertaken a number of sophisticated moves to perpetuate the presence in Washington of the "diplomatic representations" of the bourgeois Baltic republics. Many of their old workers, who were appointed many years ago by the fascist governments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, are no longer among the living. On orders from the White House, the American authority began to appoint successors to replace those persons who had died. The "diplomats" were given complete financial support.

And now those who "represent" the Baltic republics in Washington include people who were completely "Americanized" long ago, who are sons and grandsons of those who, in their day, were evicted by the nations in that part of Europe or who had fled from their just wrath. And they lay claim to the right to speak in the name of those nations. It is a truly pitiful and ridiculous sight to see.

Nevertheless, if Washington's official documents the "representatives" are called "completely independent," and are given all the diplomatic privileges. Moreover, it has been prescribed that every year the U.S. Secretary of State sends them greetings on the occasion of the national holidays (that is, the days when the bourgeois Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were established), and the senior officials in the State Department attend their parties.

What need is there for these representations -- these ghosts that do not represent anyone and that are actually branches of the American intelligence services? In a special memorandum of the U.S. State Department's Public Relations Office, which memorandum was devoted to explaining U.S. policy with respect to the Soviet Baltic republics, it is stated that "one of the basic tasks of diplomatic representations is to continue to defend the striving for the liberation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia." It is revealing that this instruction is contained in a document that is full of hypocritical judgments to the effect that the United States proceeds from the inalienable right of all nations, without interference from without, to determine their own social system.

Obviously, it is precisely from the "respect" for this right that the largest capitalist country has been unceremoniously interfering in the affairs of nations which have independently determined their future. Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola... That list could be continued. And so, on a certain day in June every year, the United States proclaims "Baltic nations' freedom day." On that day there are especially zealous efforts to bemoan their "bitter fate" and their "forced inclusion" in the USSR. But the subtext of that rhetoric is: the United States defends small nations everywhere, and their right to self-determination. But the Soviet Union violates that right. On that score, high-sounding declarations are made at the highest level.

The U.S. Congress, for example, came to the conclusion that the Soviet authority in the eastern part of the Baltic area had been restored "illegally." It was

recommended by Congress that the territory of the Soviet Baltic republics be shown with lines drawn over it on geographic maps, with the notation "occupied by the USSR." That is the kind of "historical truth" that is presented to American school children.

Imperialism used any opportunity to carry out its subversive activity. One of the largest-scale hostile sorties carried out by the reactionary emigres against the Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR was the ill-famed "Baltic tribunal," which was held last summer in Copenhagen. Among the Latvian nationalist centers, the one that demonstrated the greatest activity in organizing and conducting that political farce was the "Association of the Free Latvians of the World," which is headed by the vehement anti-Soviet, a certain Olgert Pavlovskis, who is closely linked with the CIA. Although the "tribunal" was held in Denmark, the trail left by its organizations leads back to Washington.

In order to give this so-called "court" a more or less decorous appearance and outward impartiality, the representatives of neutral countries were appointed as members of the court. But what objectivity could one expect when the judges themselves had never been in those Soviet republics, and their views and ideas gave all indications of their obvious anti-Sovietism. After convening in the Hotel Scandinavium, the anti-Soviets took a cruise across the Baltic Sea, and, as one West German newspaper wrote, "belched curses toward the Soviet shores."

The organizers of that political meeting did not succeed in attracting to their sessions even a single prominent social figure. Even the reactionary press did not show any interest in it.

Attempting to earn the favor of their hosts, who were lavishly paying for the zeal of the experts in ideological subversion, the instigators of various "campaigns" and "actions" have sown and are continuing to sow seeds of hatred and discord. Together with the aggressive forces of imperialism, they are currently armed against the "spirit of Geneva," the prevention of the dangerous development of world events. Their motto is: "The worse the international situation and Soviet-American relations are, the better it is for us."

In order to achieve their goal, the reaction emigre groups do not abhor any means. Falsifying the historical facts and slandering the Soviet Baltic republics, those "eternally living in the past" spread fabrications about the instability of the socialist system there, carry out intensive efforts to cultivate nationalism, attempt to sow seeds of discord among the Soviet nations, and distort the foreign and domestic policy of the USSR.

They have openly taken on as standard equipment the principle of Goebbels propaganda: the bigger the lie and the more often it is repeated, the more chances there are that someone, at some moment, will believe it. Washington directs the basic efforts of the "has-beens" toward idle prattle on the radio, toward the organizing of ideological sabotage...

Our age is distinguished by a very acute struggle between the two political philosophies on the international arena, a struggle that reflects the opposition between the two world systems -- socialism and capitalism. Imperialistic

propaganda, operating in a sophisticated, cunning manner, uses an entire system of means that are intended to undermine the socialist world and to shake it apart. It is necessary for us to work persistently to improve the entire system of counterpropaganda, to work aggressively and in a time-responsive manner, to give a decisive rebuff to the attempts to besmirch our Soviet way of life, and to face up directly to complicated and acute questions.

The cunning plans of the reactionary circles are opposed by the truly peace-loving, constructive foreign policy of the USSR. "The CPSU sees its task," the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program states, "in carrying to the nations the truth about real socialism, the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union..." We feel that it is necessary to continue that idea as follows: "to take active steps to unmask the ideological sabotage being carried out by imperialism," and then to resume the text.

Life convincingly confirms the correctness of the principle enunciated in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU Program, which has a direct relationship also to the history of the Soviet Baltic republics: "Freeing oneself from oppression and injustices is the sovereign right of an oppressed and exploited nation." The workers of the Soviet Baltic republics took advantage of that right and no one has the right to take it away.

5075

CSO: 1807/227

EASTERN EUROPE

SFRY OFFICIAL ON USSR TIES

PM091354 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 6 Apr 86 p 3

[Interview with G. Ubiparip, president of the Executive Council of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Republic Assembly, by correspondent A. Polekhin: "Strengthening Ties"--date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] A delegation from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina headed by G. Ubiparip, president of the Executive Council of the republic assembly, has visited our country. SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA correspondent A. Polekhin met with G. Ubiparip and asked him for his impressions of his stay in our country.

"Our republic's enterprises maintain close and mutually beneficial economic links with the Soviet Union. The names of such major associations as 'Energoinvest,' 'UNIS,' and ('Shipad') are well known here. Our specialists cooperate with Soviet colleagues in the sphere of thermodynamics, electronics, the power industry, and management questions. We are constantly working to expand the sphere of cooperation.

"Our visit to Kazakhstan--a republic with which Bosnia-Hercegovina is twinned--was connected with that. The present visit, which passed in a friendly, businesslike atmosphere, was dedicated to the development of our republic's economic cooperation within the framework of USSR-SFRY collaboration. There is tremendous potential for this. Take Kazakhstan, for example, a republic whose economic potential has increased sharply in recent years. This will make it possible to expand and deepen our ties in the sphere of the power industry, petroleum refining industry, and other areas. We have accumulated considerable experience in modernization, the introduction of modern principles of management of thermal power station units, and intensive oil refining techniques, experience which could be used within the framework of our economic ties. We also cooperate closely with Soviet specialists in the construction of industrial facilities in the republic."

/12232

CSO: 1825/58

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SITUATION IN KUWAIT VIEWED IN LIGHT OF IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 11, 12 Mar 86 p 15

[Article by Igor Belyayev: "Rejecting War"]

[Text] The Kuwaiti newspapers put the announcements on the opening and course of the 27th CPSU Congress in their lead columns. Quite understandably, particular attention was given to everything related to the attitude of the Soviet Union toward the problem of war and peace, to regional conflicts and to what was occurring in the Near East. The role of the "Soviet factor" in the region has constantly been very highly regarded here. Kuwait has rejected the proposals presented to it for "friendly participation" by the United States in its fate, preferring independent decisions on everything related to the defense of its sovereignty.

The Near East has long been an explosion-prone region. The Israeli-Arab conflict continues to have a destructive effect on the situation in this region. Superimportant is the appeal of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee formulated by him in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress.

"We are in favor," he said, "of intensifying the collective searches for ways to defuse the conflict situations in the Near and Middle East, in Central America, in the South of Africa and in all turbulent points of the world. The interests of universal security urgently demand this."

Let us also not forget that the crises and conflicts, including the Near East one, are favorable grounds also for international terrorism.

"The USSR repudiates terrorism in principle and is ready to collaborate effectively with other states," emphasized M. S. Gorbachev, "in order to eradicate it."

The fundamental reason which explains our position vis-a-vis what is happening in the Near East is our rejection of war as a means for resolving conflicts between states. In principle!

In 1986 Kuwait is both rejoicing and concerned. It is rejoicing because the Kuwaiti state which was proclaimed a quarter of a century ago has survived.

It is concerned over the duel which has lasted more than 5 years between Iran and Iraq. The fighting in February and March on several fronts simultaneously brought the Iran-Iraq War to the forefront. It had ceased to be "forgotten" and is now becoming a destabilizing factor, a source of infinite dangers and not only for the Near East but also on a worldwide level. Its course very recently was discussed by the Security Council which urged an immediate halting of all military actions. Iran did not participate in the Council's sessions. Iraq confirmed its previously voiced desire to seek a solution to the disputed Iran-Iraqi problems by political means. Prominent political leaders of many nations of the world are making an effort to halt the Iran-Iraq War.

In truth, there are also obvious efforts of another sort. For example, Israel, very interested in making Iraq evermore involved in the war, has for a long time systematically supplying weapons to the opposite side. The Israeli example is also being followed by certain other parties....

The celebrations just held in Kuwait on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of independence evoked an unprecedented outburst of enthusiasm. It is possible to sympathize with the Kuwaitis. Their own state is alive and active! They are proud of this. It is not easy to consolidate power and grow stronger when surrounded by large and strong neighbors. Even more in possessing colossal oil reserves for which there have always been many claimants.

Kuwait is one of the so-called "small" states of the world. Its area is just 17,800 km² and the population is over 1.6 million persons. It is difficult to spot Kuwait on globes. But this state has a grand policy which stretches far beyond the limits of the Persian Gulf and Near East. It is possible to speak about Kuwait's global policy which has given it authority in modern international relations on all levels.

Having become independent, soon thereafter Kuwait established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. How it was intimidated by neighbors and "non-neighbors," particularly the large ones interested in keeping the Persian Gulf area isolated from the socialist world! The Kuwaiti rulers boldly and farsightedly disregarded the threats and counted on constructive relations with the Soviet Union. At present, such relations in many spheres are an irrefutable fact. There is the political will to broaden and improve these relations.

I am in no way asserting that the Kuwaiti rulers have ceased to be what they are. Of course, they have not. However, partnership with the Soviet Union and with the other socialist countries is beneficial both to Kuwait and to the socialist countries. And now, when next door the Iran-Iraq War is raging and becoming evermore destructive, Soviet-Kuwaiti collaboration tells positively on the entire situation in the Persian Gulf.

In Kuwait people told me of the threat involved with the approach of the war to its frontiers. The expanding of military operations could bring great damage to this Arab state. Actually, not only to Kuwait but also to the other

countries of the region. In following the course of the Iran-Iraq War, the Soviet Union has also shown concern.

The attitude of the Soviet Union toward the Iran-Iraq War is perfectly clear. From its very first day, on 22 September 1980, we have considered this war senseless and destructive for Iraq and Iran and advantageous only to the imperialist circles of the United States and Western Europe. At present, when the number of victims of the "forgotten" war has exceeded a million killed and wounded, the question arises: is it not time to halt? It has long been time! The Soviet Union is against all wars, including the Iran-Iraqi one.

The Soviet Union has shown understanding for the efforts undertaken for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Kuwait and the other Arab nations which are members of the Council for Collaboration Among Arab States of the Persian Gulf, recently in statements by their ministers of foreign affairs, confirmed collective responsibility for ensuring peace and stability in this region. Such a statement is proof not only of the determination to defend themselves but also to avoid foreign intervention into their internal affairs under the pretext of "providing aid." At present, Washington is dreaming precisely of an "invitation" for such interference. Yes, the Persian Gulf region involves the legitimate interests of many states of the world, including the Soviet Union. Certainly this region lies in direct proximity to our southern frontiers. The Soviet Union feels that it is much more beneficial for the cause of peace to assist in the quickest halting of the Iran-Iraq War.

10272

CSO: 1807/203

POLITICAL SITUATION INSIDE ISRAEL OBSERVED

PMO31453 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Mar 86 p 9

[Igor Belyayev "Political Observer's Notes": "What Peres Has on His Mind..."]

[Text] In Israel Prime Minister Peres has been discussing peace in the Near East for over a year. Using "bold" statements of spreading blatantly speculative rumors with the aid of his office, the head of the Israeli Government has persistently created the impression that under his leadership the country will advance even to the solution of the Palestinian problem. Peres has frequently expressed his readiness to begin talks with King Husayn and to "exchange" the occupied Arab lands for peace.

At the same time the present head of the Israeli Government has not rejected the idea of talks of another kind: between Israel and some Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. To prepare the talks Jordan and the PLO have concluded the well-known Amman agreement (February 1985). The United States has declared its support for it. Washington, to encourage the Arabs' separatism, has expressed the readiness to hold a preliminary meeting with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. Separate talks have been persistently set against the idea of convening an international conference on the Near East with the participation of all interested sides, including the PLO.

Peres has not tired of stressing that talks with a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, if they do take place, will be on the basis of the well-known UN Security Council resolutions Nos. 242 and 338. In Israel this has generated what is almost an eruption of enthusiasm. People there interpret the two resolutions in their own way. Not only with regard to the occupied Arab territories (Israel, it is said, should not free all the Arab lands seized in June 1967) but also with regard to the Palestinian problem. Thus, resolution No 242 discusses only the Palestinian refugees and the question of creating an Arab Palestinian state therefore does not arise.

On an anti-Palestinian wave Peres has gained points as the sole architect of the "Israeli peace" attended by success. His popularity, growing, albeit only slowly, has made it possible to think that by the summer of 1986 he will succeed in "exploding" the Labor Party coalition with "Likud," dissolving the present government, holding early parliamentary elections, winning them, and becoming sole prime minister. Then, Peres calculates, he will be able to continue the "search for peace" with the Arabs and with the "accommodating

Palestinians," without the PLO, of course! By that time, as a result of intimidating terrorist acts like those committed at Rome and Vienna airports at the end of last year, the PLO's discrediting will have peaked and everyone will disgustedly try to forget it as a nightmare.

One more important detail. Tel Aviv has deliberately unleashed the malicious rumor that the Soviet Union is prepared, "in exchange" for Israel's consent to involve the USSR in a Near East settlement, to restore diplomatic relations with Israel and open some kind of "air bridge" between Moscow and Tel Aviv to maintain the emigration to Tel Aviv of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality who will be settled on the occupied western bank of the Jordan. This rumor has in no way reflected the true state of affairs, but it has created a background advantageous to Peres.

On 19 February King Husayn sated that his contacts with the PLO on the basis of the Amman agreement had been deadlocked. The Palestinians had refused to recognize Resolution No. 242. The United States had angrily made it clear it would not enter into contact with the PLO. The idea of new separate details remained hanging in the air...

The generals -- with Peres' blessing, of course -- became more active in Tel Aviv. Force should resolve everything! The generals have drafted two scenarios for wars in the Near East.

The first is a war with Jordan. Some kind of "rebellion" will be provoked against King Husayn. An acute situation will arise, not excluding his deposition. Taking advantage of the "rebellion," Israel will attack Jordan. At the same time hundreds of thousands of Palestinians will be driven from the West Bank of the Jordan. A fourth "wave" of Palestinian refugees will appear. The United States will supply Israel with arms and financial support. After all, the U.S. ally in the Near East "will be in need of assistance."

The second is a war with Syria. As soon as Damascus makes its next "mistake," Israel will immediately take advantage of it. Its strike will put that Arab country back many years in military terms. The "road to peace" in the Near East from a "position of strength" advantageous to Israel will be cleared!

As recently as 18 March this year Peres suddenly started talking of Israel's "fears" of a possible attempt by Syria to initiate...a "limited" war with a view to regaining the Golan Heights.

That is the background to the Israeli "peacemaking" efforts observed recently.

But what about the Palestinians? Historical experience attests that while their leaders struggled for the just cause of the Palestinians and Arabs and against separatism, they were attended by support, by relying on which they achieved considerable successes. As soon as some of them embarked on the path of compromise with the United States and Israel at any price, the Palestinian resistance movement split, and is suffering losses. It has begun to be openly manipulated by those who have never considered a truly just solution to the Palestinian problem. This course of the quest for peace in the Near East only plays into the hand of its overt opponents.

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SOVIET 'DOCUMENTARY' SCORES WEST'S AID TO AFGHAN MUJAHIDIN

Ashkhabad TURKMENSKAYA ISKRA in Russian 13 Feb 86 p 4

[Article by Ye. Prikhod'ko, correspondent of the State Information Agency Attached to the TuSSR Council of Ministers: "The Screen Exposes Ideological Saboteurs"]

[Text] A new topical film of the Turkmenfilm Studio entitled "The Right to Live" (script writers V. Ardayev and S. Mollaniyazov, producer S. Mollaniyazov, and operator K. Chekirov) has become an irrefutable exposure of the dirty methods used in conducting the undeclared war against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a repulse of the malicious anti-Soviet slander. The documentary film makers of the republic--the closest neighbor of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan--have created a journalistically impassioned counterpropaganda picture, which unmasks those who are hiding behind the backs of the bandits who stand behind the scenes of the ideological diversions against the USSR and against Afghanistan, which is building a new life.

The film-crew collected denunciatory film documents about the activity of the hornets' nests for the training of the gangs of rebels, instructors and emissaries being sent to the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and about the black deeds of the propaganda services of the West, which--uttering heart-rending cries about "human rights" in the Soviet Union, have given shelter in their own countries to the fascist executioners of yesterday, to the renegades who poison the souls of people on the air.

"Facts are obstinate things, and for slanderers--relentless as well. This truth determined our approach to the film," says the producer Sapar Mollaniyazov. And facts, through visible presentation on the screen, utterly destroy the forged documents of the old hands at anti-Soviet propaganda.

Here is one of those examples.

As was already reported in the press, the West German television company ARD put out a series of slanderous broadcasts in connection with the events around Afghanistan. Wanting to contribute its mite to the anti-Soviet hysteria, which is being fanned in this connection by certain circles of the FRG, and with the aid of an unbridled cynical lie, it decided to shock its television viewers with fabrications about the "red terror" and about imaginary "atrocities" allegedly

being committed by Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. The absurd propaganda myth in the eyes of the viewers bursts like a soap-bubble, showing from whom the forged document was in reality copied. Soul-chilling frames pass by: Schools set on fire and plundered by the bandits, blood-stained stretchers with the victims of an explosion in a Kabul movie theater, an overcrowded hospital with children who have become cripples for life. . . . A panorama of irrefutable pieces of material evidence seeks to convince where these bloody traces lead: Weapons and ammunition of American, English and Israeli model captured from the bandits, including explosive devices in the form of fountain-pens, school textbooks, plush teddy bears, and other "toys", which are being supplied to the Afghan bandits by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Having collided with the real facts imprinted on the film, the still-born anti-Soviet "canard" about large-scale military operations of the contingent of Soviet troops in Democratic Afghanistan, bearing an allegedly aggressive character, also proved to be unsupported. The film shows: The fighters of the limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are met by the Afghans as friends, defenders, and helpers, who in accordance with the agreement of the two states are carrying out their international duty. The outlaw [dushmanskiy] terrorists are sowing death and terror. The picture presents unmasking facts about the methods of instructing cutthroats in a training camp for gangs of Gund-Mubaraz [not further identified] rebels in the mountains, 250 kilometers from the town of Koite.

The picture is an unequivocal answer also to the fantasies of the so-called radio Free Afghanistan, which not long ago was added to the chorus of slanderous "radio voices" being supported by Washington. Although formally this is an independent radio station, in reality it serves as a supporting voice of the sabotage and subversion centers of [Radio] "Liberty" and "Free Europe", which have found a comfortable hide-out in the suburbs of Munich. The "information programs" there are concocted by bandits from the rebel [dushmanskiy] formations, carrying out bloody raids on the territory of sovereign Afghanistan, and the general leadership has been entrusted to the professional slanderers from the council of international broadcasting, which actually is a branch of the CIA. Along with "moral support" for the rebel gangs and the transmission of instructions to them for the coordination of sorties of the Afghan counterrevolutionary rabble, the goal of this radio mouthpiece is the intensification of the slanderous campaigns aimed at the USSR and the other socialist countries.

"Not so long ago, I found myself as a member of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and I had the occasion to hear about what the "protectors" of human rights are broadcasting. About that in the Soviet Union Muslims allegedly are deprived of elementary rights, and those who observe Muslim rites are subjected to persecution, that their children are taken away from them by force and brought up in special closed-type colonies. . . . Crude, primitive and mendacious anti-Soviet propaganda." The film is commented upon by Mukhammed-guly Yazkuliye--yesterday's soldier, who is now preparing to become a specialist in agriculture. His testimony is also heard from the screen: "And now if I suddenly hear on the radio an ingratiating voice speaking in the Turkmen language about how splendidly Muslims live abroad and how they are "oppressed" in the USSR, I flare all over with anger and indignation. Who are these people, who

call themselves Turkmen? Renegades, cowards, traitors. Pitiful creatures without a fatherland. They are prepared to do anything if they are paid well. Is it possible though to find somebody able to believe them?"

The film of the Turkmen documentary film makers shows what filthy services the radio stations "Voice of America", "BBC", "Free Europe", "Liberty", and "Deutsche Welle" use. . . . These are the Fascist stooges Murad Tachmurad, the brothers Aman and Kurre Berdymuradov, and Allamurad Khalmuradov. During the years of the Great Patriotic War, they sold themselves to the Hitlerite aggressors and turned weapons against their homeland. Their hands are up to the elbow in the blood of their fellow-countrymen. Together with the fascist monsters, they burned and hanged, shot and tortured. Frames of war films included in the picture gave a memorable description of the crimes of the "Turkmen Legion" and the punitive actions on occupied Soviet territory. The shameful path of the traitors, which are fed with the crumbs of the Western special services, was branded by the well-known Turkmen writer and journalist Seyitniyaz Atayev in his speeches and articles. A participant in the Great Patriotic War, whose creativity has been celebrated with the State Prize of the TuSSR imeni Makhtumkuli, he helped the cinematographers of Turkmenfilm in the creation of a previous documentary called "The Traitors" and this time presented to the film-crew the materials collected by him.

"Two hundred thousand of my fellow-countrymen, envoys of Turkmenistan, fought on the fronts of the Great Patriotic War, 100 became Heroes of the Soviet Union, and more than 70,000 were celebrated with battle decorations of the Fatherland," Seyitniyaz Atayev tells. "An insignificant handful of renegades has sold itself to the enemy. Aul Errik-Kala, from where Allamurad Khalmuradov is by birth, saw off to the war 411 of its best sons, two-thirds of whom died a gallant death, but live on in the memory of our entire people. At a rural meeting, the inhabitants decided unanimously to cross out the traitors from the lists of those born on the land of the rayon. Here is the payment for the betrayal: Death during one's lifetime, the curse of one's mother and brothers. . . ."

Having resold themselves to the ideologues of the CIA, the former fascist toadies are continuing their filthy path of betrayal: On the air they pour dirt on Soviet reality. Experienced in slander, they broadcast that the construction of the Karakum Canal allegedly led to the destruction of the Turkmen natural environment and destroyed the traditional style of life, that the Turkmen in the USSR are deprived of elementary rights, that their original culture is being destroyed, and that their children are not studying their native language in the schools. As they say, it is better to see once. . . . What the real situation is like is shown by the frames: In the place of the former dead sands, fields have turned green, gardens have broken into blossom, modern settlements have sprung up, and the panorama of the republic's cultural and scientific life is in broad appearance. . . .

However much the ideological saboteurs exert themselves, Turkmenistan will go the road of happiness in the family of the Soviet fraternal peoples. This is convincingly and in a mature manner shown by the work of the republic film studio.

8970
1807/212

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

TASS DESCRIBES BROADCASTING SERVICE IN AFGHANISTAN

LD052112 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 5 Apr 86

[TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin report]

[Text] Kabul, 5 April (TASS)--After the victory of the April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan, the decision was taken to develop the national radio and television network. Considerable success has been achieved in this sphere.

Putting the Voice of Afghanistan radio station into operation has permitted the volume of broadcasting to be raised to 80 hours per day and the existing capacities of radio transmitters permit this to be increased to 150 hours. Broadcasts are conducted in almost all languages of the ethnic groups who inhabit Afghanistan and also in foreign languages--English, German, French, Arabic and Urdu.

A considerable role in the life of Afghan society is played by television, and one aspect of its activity is to broadcast educational programs within the framework of the campaign to eliminate illiteracy. The state committee for television and radio broadcasting and cinematography of the DRA maintains links with a number of international television organizations, including Soviet television. A new television center is now under construction in Afghanistan with assistance from the USSR.

The role of the press is also great. The number of copies of newspapers and magazines produced daily has increased from 4,000 copies in the prerevolutionary period to 500,000. A number of publications are issued in the languages of the national minorities of the country, in Uzbek and Turkmen, for example.

The chief aim of the changes in the sphere of the mass information media in democratic Afghanistan is to bring the truth about the revolution to the awareness of every Afghan.

/12232

CSO: 1807/236

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SOVIET-ALGERIAN TRADE FOR 1985 REVIEWED

LD210917 Moscow TASS in English 0816 GMT 21 Mar 86

[Text] Moscow, 21 Mar (TASS)--Trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the Algerian People's Democratic Republic are an important component part of the whole complex of friendly relations between the two countries. Soviet-Algerian trade increased by 117.4 million roubles last year, as compared with 1984, and amounted to 405.2 million roubles, a TASS correspondent has been told at the Foreign Trade Ministry of the USSR. Soviet purchases of Algerian commodities increased substantially over a year--by 127.4 million roubles, reaching 272.9 million roubles. The USSR's exports to the Algerian People's Democratic Republic ran into 132.3 million roubles in 1985.

Mutual deliveries include a broad assortment of products put out by enterprises of the two countries: machinery, equipment, motor vehicles, rolled stock, traditional export commodities.

The USSR and the Algerian People's Democratic Republic attach great significance to further development of such an important area of bilateral trade and economic relations as joint construction of big economic projects, specifically cooperation in building enterprises in different industries. Among such projects are, for instance, the metallurgical complex in El Hajar--the firstling of Algeria's ferrous metallurgy, the lead and zinc dressing factory in Al Abeda, a big gas trunkline in Algerian People's Democratic Republic, etc.

One of the main projects of the Soviet-Algerian economic cooperation is now a thermal electric power station in Gigel, with a capacity of 630 megawatts. The thermal electric power station is planned to be put into exploitation early in 1990s. It will largely contribute to implementation of the extensive program of electrification of Algeria.

Soviet and Algerian organizations are now continuing negotiations which will lead to new contracts for mutual deliveries of commodities and products necessary for the economies of both countries.

/9738

CSO: 1812/100

END